

SHEIKH ABDULLA



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N. N. RAINA.

CHAPTER I.

THE NOBLEST PERSONALITY.

Sheikh Abdulla of Kashmir is regarded by millions of his followers and admirers throughout the world as the noblest of all Kashmiris who have ever lived on earth. The beauty of his character and the supremacy of his achievements have been described by the press and people throughout the Rising East. He has given promise of a great millennium of Orient culture and civilization in which Sataurn reigns and the people of the world live in permanent peace and order. In a world distracted by feuds, biases, cross-purposes, and divisions of many sorts, wherein even men of goodwill cannot easily work together, he is going to discover a Way of Fellowship, which he seeks for the healing of innumerable divisions and for the solution of many baffling problems in conduct and policy of individuals, groups, organizations or nations . . . Thus he proposes to be the great pioneer of the gospel of Mahatma Gandhi in India and the entire East. When the leaders

of India, martyrs and soldiers, patriots known and unknown who sacrificed their everything for the emancipation of Mother India—brave people indeed—are forgotten in dust; when humanity no longer remembers the names of the dead or what these men did or say, the name and fame of *Sher-i-Kashmir* will go thundering down the eons since he succeeded there where Gandhi and Jinnah failed.

Ere the depressed hopes of the people elsewhere were rejuvenated by the message of Real Freedom; *Sher-i-Kashmir* was preaching his gospel to his followers and beating down the rotten foundations of oppression, injustice and monarchy in Indian States. To-day and in future he overflows over the barren tracts like a great River and enriches the soil of humanity with his physical and political buoyancy. He is the most abundant Indian leader I have ever studied. He emits sparks and electrical power with every word he utters in meetings or from the platform. His eyes and his fingers which he moves while addressing the gathering spit fire. He is the New Dawn of the East that heralds the approaching day in which the Eastern Countries have not become infernos of discord, but abodes of universal brotherhood and everlasting peace. These are his miracles that have made him the greatest leader in the annals of Indian history.

The Sheikh reminds us of Gandhi in many

ways. He is an indefatigable worker, a benefactor of the poor, a guide and organizer of the backward people, the leader of the despairing farmers, the Rousing Conscience of the dumb slaves, and in one word he should be called the Cincinnatus of the East.

The Sheikh has mingled freely and easily with individuals of innumerable shades and colour, with thinkers and pseudo-thinkers, socialists and reformers representative of every shade of social, political and religious view; with publicists, statesmen, rulers diplomats educators, in his vast study during his prison stay. In future, I hope, even the socialists, communists, anarchists, will find him their friend; burglars, prostitutes, murderers, the erring individuals will discover the healing spirit of his sympathy; incorrigible youths, wayward girls, irredeemable failures will be touched and stirred to fresh efforts through the ministering warmth of his tender humanism.

He struggled hard for the cause he had made his ideal for full seventeen years during which he underwent many imprisonments. In one of his messages from behind the iron bars, he communicated. "So far as I am concerned these stone walls and steel bars do not exist; I do not see them. My spirit soars beyond this institution and mingles with the spirits of the workers of the National Conference, loyal and devoted all.

throughout the boundries of the Jammu and Kashmir State, and over the vast sub-continent of *my* India. I am proud of the blessings I enjoy of the Congress High Command and so many hundred million of Indians who are also striving for full freedom. For my own self I am serene and countless and for my Comrades I am confident that the cause in which and for which they are working, all their working hours will soon triumph, and in that blessed day the freedom lovers of the world will inaugurate the greatest liberty and democracy that the world has ever known. Tell my comrades that I am all right and there is nothing to worry about". For the greatness of Kashmir and the betterment of Kashmir, he would not shirk from any ideal or budge an inch from any ordeal that would achieve his end.

Sheikh Abdulla, no doubt, is pre-eminently an agitator, a crusader. He has lived closely to the pulsing heart of the suffering race. He has sensed the ignoble poverty of the masses, and that has made him a revolutionary, a leader, a rebel and a liberator. He avows with faith the Congress idealism because he feels sure that it can be made to alleviate the distress of the poverty-stricken Kashmiris so that they be made rich in the good things of life. In his heart and soul is no trace of hatred for a living soul, and he has said time and again that he would serve those who oppose him just as much as those who are with him.

He sees things 'clearly', interprets his apprehensions and whatever he feels in true, he follows it. Few men in Kashmir possessed the gift of oratory that belongs to Sheikh Abdulla. "Flowers blossom upon his lips, and you can hear the ripples of silver springs in the music of his voice". In his seventeen years of agitation on behalf of the Kashmiris as also of the ten crores' of States peoples he has addressed millions of individuals at home or abroadNo man living or dead, has more faithfully consecrated his life to the cause of political justice and fair dealing, man to man than the Sheikh. Likewise he has been severely punished for it. He fought the good fight and kept its name for all ages in history. He will be revered by the children of the races. His was a tough fight for the emancipation of the Kashmiris. Different political and controversial theories might accuse him for different shades in his career; but no matter from the just verdict of mankind, world will agree that Abdulla was honest, kind, sincere, loyal, devoted, true, lovable and loving, always doing what he could in rain or shine, in prison or at home, to make Kashmir a better and a brighter place for the people who inhabit it, and for those who will come afterwards. If once he sponsored a communal agitation against the Pandits, it was because he found they were standing against his cause; if at another time he raised up a slogan that the Prince should Quit, it was because the autocratic prince and his machine of bureaucratic Government

had suppressed his moment and maimed his cause and overshadowed the future, the hope of which he had given to his people! For these things, political blunders as they are termed even the arbitrators of humanity have not been blamed—did not Jawahar commit a great political blunder in accepting to the division of India? But Jawahar's great blunder has, now, been repaired by Abdulla, for now, may God have it, India is united again.

He has fought his enemies with love, pity and compassion. They have fought him with blood and bludgeon, persecution and prison, and when he was out of the prison bars he attacked their citadel with his eloquence and persuasions. But again they returned the attack with injunctions and indictments. But he has been victorious in the end. How far he will be successful in placing Kashmir on the highways of progress, the future will tell, but as far Abdulla, as a man, as a leader of men, as lover of liberty and as a determined spirit, he has already left his impress on the future. There awaits him a page in the history beside those who have sacrificed their self for the common cause of the common people.

Above all—is his daring. Alone among all Kashmiris who were deprived of their legitimate freedom and were forced to bend before Authority, Abdulla was never afraid. From the beginning of his political and public career he had to make decisions

daily which practically made it certain that his life would be given to the service of his fellowmen. He came out on the platform to declare certain truths about freedom and Government, but they were so abnoxious to those in authority, that very soon he began to be known as a 'traitor'. They gave him threats of the punishment of sedition, but there never was a spectre of fear stealing in and out of his life. He had to do daily exactly what men at the front do. He had to live in throes of tragic wrestle with Authority—military and police, courts and judges. But he went on. Hundreds of our brave men who have won and deserved distinctions in the war, who could hold German bullets in honest contempt did not possess the courage which would have been needed to a conviction about social conduct, or politics, or personal goodness which was unpopular in Kashmiri masses, who were illiterate and completely devoid of political education.

He is greedy for political power, but he is also a man with a mission, a sincere fanatic Kashmiri. Though he has followed the examples of Gandhiji they could not be more dissimilar. The Sheikh is a calculating realist—volcanic fires within him, but a fairly cool head. The Sher-of Kashmir is a far more complicated personality, hit all over, emotional, excitable, romantically inclined, prone to sudden fury and blinding tears.

He is not altogether normal, there is something about him of the dreamer, the prophet, the mystic. Yet this strange creature is also a man of action, laying his plans, biding his time and striking with relentless force when the hour comes. Where the greatness of Kashmir is concerned he sticks at nothing. Neither treaties nor promises hold him back. His followers chant in chorus, he is sung in Kashmiri folk songs, and it was on the promise of his abundant personality that Kashmir's celebrated poet Mahjur somewhere said, '*Kasheer will lead the East*'.

The Jammu and Kashmir National Conference is thick with the "unwholesome" fumes of incense. The Sheikh is a preacher as well as a chief. The core of his gospel is the greatness of the Indian nation as a whole. His ideology is that curious medley of wisdom and folly, statesmanship and nationalism which has made place in every human heart. He is a highly educated Kashmiri. The Indians, members of one nation, he tells us are the master-builders to whom the precious fabric of Orient civilization is due, and the Kashmiris were the best specimens of this incomparable type. According to him the easy-going liberalism of the nineteenth century undermines the authority of the state. He believes in stern administration, but the base of that administration, according to him, should be the goodwill of the common man. The duty of the citizen in the '*Awami-Raj*' (Peoples' Government)

his individual claims and tastes, but to dedicate himself body and soul to the service of the nation, to loose himself in the life of the whole. His greatest interest is to see Kashmir and whole of India prosperous and happy. He loves Kashmir, the land of his birth more than he loves his own life

In his first address from the Government chair he has declared before the world, "Others woes are my own, if someone's child has died, believe it my own child has died; if someone's wife is killed, believe it my own wife is killed if someone's house has been burnt, believe it my own house has been burnt." Recently when the Pakistan Government with a view to disrupting the State "from within" filtrated Tribal gangs within the State boundaries and disturbed normal life in Kashmir, the Sheikh read to the Home Gaurds and National Conference Volunteers.

"Every child of the soil has avowed it with faith and determined spirit that he shall not give an inch to these barbarous booters who have come here to trample over the Kashmiris. We have prepared ourselves for death if it means that, but we shall not be the slaves of Pakistan. We have already given our lives for the service of our land, and how does it matter if we die for our Kashmir!". His clarion has been.

کہا ہوا کھر مر گئے۔ اہلے وطن کے واسطے
بلبلیں قربان ہوتی ہیں۔ اپنے چمن کے واسطے

He gave his life in open defiance of public opinion, and he was spared nothing. At one time he had the support of the communal Muslims but they afterwards forsook him because he did not become a victim of the communal fever that was swept over the whole of the Punjab by the Muslim Press. The communal organizations at home or abroad conspired against him; his own community even thought him mad, and failed to stand by him. This brought about 'Sher-Bakra' conflict in Kashmir. The league had taken over the Bakra element. The Sheikh, on the other hand, longed for good politicians who would agree with him and support his convictions. That was the stage in his life when his own politics was diverted towards nationalism as preached by Gandhiji in India. He studied Indian politics and his mental horizon broadened itself. He was now, confronted with the problems of India which were akin to the Indian States also. Communalism, he thought, would multiply these problems, and in nationalism he saw the cherished dream of a thriving nation, the Indian Nation. It was at that time that in one of his public speeches, he declared, 'Idea of one India is worth dying for'. That was, evidently, before July 1941 when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Abdul Ghaffar Khan (the Frontier Gandhi) were invited by Shiekh Mohammad -Abdulla to tour into the interior of the Happy Valley and study the conditions of the Kashmiris.

Whether the world calls him a leader or a statesman, Sheikh Abdulla sustained a conscious and continuous effort to relieve the misery of the Kashmiris. How far he succeeds in his mission is to be achieved by the national government in due course of time, and decided by future that will judge him better; but so far as his personality goes, he has wept over the sorrows of his people, and in their service he has ignored his self also. He poured out his own self for others. The regenerating idea of a great nation, the Indian nation, of which the Kashmiris form an integral part is the dominant thought and inspiration of his whole life. The Sheikh has swept over the spirit of liberty over the entire East like a flame at which all the monarchies are trembling.

Really a wonderful man, to raise his cry of 'One Nation' in India's darkest hour when a biased government is set up on the name of Islam and India's poor masses are exploited under the mad fit of communalism, as preached by Jinnah and his lieutenants. Never had the hope of India as a nation sunk nearer to extinction, as now when Pakistan is encouraging man slaughter and senseless savagery. Never had our great political hopes, ideals, dreams become a shattered heap. The sights of the motherless children, childless mothers, husbandless wives—the refugees—pierce him to his heart. He cannot really see all that. If that means freedom, we should

better remain slaves, he said. It is because of this that he may, at times, oppose Jinnah's politics also otherwise the Sheikh is the friend of all. Kashmiris, mostly the Muslims, are poor. They do not own the land that they till, they do not know why they pay the taxes, cycles of unemployment have brought about colossal strife. "The peasants mostly are sunk in unimaginable poverty. Their mud huts contain hardly a trace of visible property save a few pots and water jars. Every household is in debt, and the money lenders charge rates of interest raging to 48 per cent. If a peasant owns his holding, it is rarely big enough to feed his family throughout the year and he makes up the deficiency by trekking as a seasonal labourer across the mountains to the plains where he does the work which was quite unfit for human hands. People look down upon him, he is called 'Hatto'. He can only clothe his body by rags. He has no land, he works a share-cropper and pays to the owner by way of rent one half of all his produce. His wooden plough dates from the dark ages and his cattle, if he has any, are of such miserable breeds that they are hardly worth the trouble of milking. Worse than all this, much of the land is held under feudal tenure by great landlords known as Jagirdars who draw their tribute from the cultivator as a reward for some services rendered to the Maharaja or his ancestors. Peasant's children do not receive education, their undernourishment is obvious at a glance and the bodily

destruction is due to the lack of medical care. In some cases sheer penury has compelled the people to make prostitutes of their wives and daughters for the sake of feeding their bellies. Of this community, then, was born the lion of Kashmir to overthrow the shackles of slavery and to resurrect the people of Jammu and Kashmir State so that its call would cut through the massive mountains and send down messages of 'One India', 'One Nation, 'One Government' throughout the entire sub-continent of India, where, from the graves and cremation grounds the spirits of the millions of those men, women and children whose lives were paid by us as price of freedom in that darkest time of India's history when the British with a view to engulf India in the throes of perpetual warfare divided our land of birth, would rise and cherish with us the exult and ecstasy of 'United India' and Complete Independence. It is then that the greatness of Abdulla will be sung by the poets and chronicled in golden letters by the historians of the world, who have predicted that Kashmir will lead the East.

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CHAPTER II

LEADER OF THE EAST.

The recent happenings in many parts of India have caused despair in the heart of every Indian patriot. We have seen in European history that the religious discords between important sections of the people did not lead to any disastrous failure of patriotism. The Catholics and the Huguenots fought each other to the death, but even then the patriotism of the French masses strengthened the definitive unity of the French nation. In England, Catholics and Protestants joined hand in hand and rose against the Spanish Armada, and surprised the agents of Philip II. In more recent times, in Germany Catholics and Protestants have united in all national wars. Religious feud is an affair of the home. Even in Europe, the country distorted by incessant wars, patriotism has stood firm against the evil forces of political disruption. Gandhiji's great desire was that patriotism and the sense of nationality be securely founded lest people were put to the strain of religious disunion. He had time and again stressed upon the Indian leaders the imperative need of welding and hammering the nation

into political unity so that this political unification was made so strong that it could bear the strain and stress of religious strife which has, now, been made more positive and active by the British by dividing India on communal basis. Sixty years of India's great struggle for freedom contain records of British tactics which they employed in weakening the national unity of India, of which they were mortally afraid. We have seen how the Imperial Government were encouraging periodical religious outburst so to disrupt the programmes of the Indian National Congress, which above all fought so hard for the national unity of India and independence. It was the policy of the British to dis-unite the Hindus and Muslims—two major communities of India—in the political and social spheres. They made them claim communal electorates, communal quotas in the administrative services, legislative safeguards, and thus the British administration promoted and kept alive communal dis-union between the strivers of liberty. The seeds of the present communal warfare were sown by the British because they did not want to see India a thriving nation. Gandhiji was decidedly right in saying that strong nationalism was more important than the freedom itself. He had foreseen the ruin of the nation in communalism. He did not support nationalism as being political criticism of British administration. He wanted it to be a nationalistic movement. Even before Gandhiji in about 1885, the British Indian Association of

Bengal, the Indian Association of Bombay, the Sarvajanic Sabha of Poona were crying about nationalism, but they were more liberal in their outlooks. The Indian National Congress itself in the beginning aimed far less at nationalist organization. The original idea of Mr. Hume, according to some, was of a national gathering of Indian public men to discuss social matters and to cultivate friendly relations with each other, but Lord Dufferin had made it a gathering where Indian politicians would meet and point out to the Government where the administration was defective and how it could be improved. When Gandhiji came to its forefront the active promotion of nationalism became the base plank of its platform. Before that, despite all its good features, the Congress was a middle class movement.

Gandhiji had taken the Indian platform. Britishers were apprehensive of their future in India. They were dazed by the probability of the transfer of power from their hands to the hands of Indians whose sole representation, then, was the Congress. Tempted by the possibility of regaining that power through some foul means, they influenced some distinguished members of the Muslim community, and won their hearts by telling them the truth that education was their greatest need. Consequently a Mohammedan Educational Association was formed. Later the British told them

that political power was being placed more and more on Indian shoulders and in that the majority community enjoyed the better chance since in Responsible Government rule by majority would be rule by a permanent majority - the Hindus. Thus by political reasoning, they convinced them of the need for political organization, and in 1906 was established the Muslim League. The Sher-i-Kashmir has discovered that League is a British-made concern and that it does not aim at the amelioration of Muslim masses, which on the other hand the Congress has championed the cause of the popular national interests like those of the ryots and the villages, the conditions of Labour, the promotion of Swadeshi, the Indianization of everything from the success of which Muslims would profit equally with Hindus and take India long way ahead.

Indian nationalism under the influence of Gandhiji got hold of the masses. Gandhiji is still striving to achieve the positive unity of the people of India. Nationalism, as preached by Gandhiji and followed by Sheikh Abdulla has to neutralize the dominant influence of communalism. It has to become peoples way of life. So far it may have been used as a stick to beat British rule, but now it has to cement the political union of the people

of India. That is Sheikh Abdulla's creed and conviction on which he has seen the prosperity of Kashmir in acceding to Indian union. So far we had used it for getting the so-called' freedom. Indian nationalism in future shall spring from depths of Indian life which is lived the same way in India or Pakistan so that it binds up the life of the Indians, on the whole.

The wandering of the peoples'-refugees-disturbs him. He wants people to settle down. He believes in pakistan as a Government because it has set up, but he does not believe in Two Nation Theory since that theory is absurd. He wants nationalism to be fed and nourished by the love of the land and the people, and a man who has no love for his land and his people is not worth being a man. It was the love of the country that made it possible for Poland to resurrect itself after hundred twenty five years of dismembered existence. Rousseau laid down love of the country as the foundation of any durable constitution. Sheikh Abdulla's first thing in his life is the love of his country, India of which Kashmir his place of birth is a part. Sheikh Abdulla's nationalism is based on the love of the land. In future it gives us the hope of counterblasting British policy by which they have uncircled us in communal squabbles.

India was not for division. Its natural frontiers had decisively separated it from its neigh-



JAWAHAR SPEAKING TO HIS KASHMIRIS

Communal amityrejuvenated my bleeding heart

bours. India was the most picturesque country of the world. Hindus and Moslems and Christians and Sikhs and Parsees and Untouchables were bound up in cordial relations by Orient culture and civilization which was common to all these. It was the natural and historical home of the Hindus, Moslems had settled down in India for many centuries and had made India their home. History had brought the people together and united them in bonds of unity that never break. The idea of division, therefore, was absurd. Hindus and Muslims have fundamental diversity in the following of their religions, but their politics is closely connected together. Sheikh Abdulla's fight is a political fight not a religious one, and thus there is no question why, being a Muslim, he is not a leaguer. The movement from Kashmir, the head of India that Sheikh Abdulla has started must cure Indian nationalism from the malaise from which it has been suffering. Today about five crores of Muslims domiciled in the dominion of India are looking up to Sheikh Abdulla. His leadership has restored back their confidence. Why did he not care for those five crores of Muslims who made him Quide-Azam, the Sheikh asks Jinnah if Jinnah proclaims to the World that Pakistan was demanded for the safeguard of Mussalmans? What are his arrangements for the safeguard of these five crores of Mussalmans who would be stranded in India, should India be declared a Hindu State, as he wants it to do? To-day Sheikh Abdulla is not

only the leader of forty lakhs of the people of Jammu and Kashmir State, he is the leader of the five crores of Muslims of India besides being the voice of ten crores of States People. He has done more for the cause of Islam than Jinnah with his British support and Pakistan has done or will do. Sheikh Abdulla is a shrewd politician. He does not see the good of Mussalmans in Pakistan since every Mussalman is not a Zamindar or an estate holder. Muslim masses like the Hindu masses are poor. They have to be ameliorated, and this gigantic, task, Sheikh Abdulla feels, can be properly done by the national Government of India. The major part of India is agricultural. Nationalism and rural economy are, therefore, the dominating considerations before the Government. Pre-war Russia was like India. It has made strides in recent years because it has not confused religion with Government. It does not mean that Sheikh Abdulla is, anyway, in favour of communism, but in sound nationalism he sees the remedy of ignoble wrongs, definitely.

The East to-day is in the most acute and widespread poverty, but it is endeavouring to become a great power in the face of terrible obstacles and handicaps. Japan has been ruined industrially and economically. India's way to prosperity is thickened with obstacles. Vast regions of China are in utter chaos. Huge provinces are on the verge of starvation. Millions perish annually from hunger

and malnutrition. In India itself the average per capital income is meagre and tens of millions dwell continuously in pitiable poverty. Indeed three fourths of all the people on earth are not adequately fed, clothed or housed, while at last one quarter of all human beings are actually destitute and in terrible misery. The arrogance of the white race and the discriminatory practices of the great powers had churned up a whirlpool of resentment among the Indian leaders, and it was on the conviction that the people of the East be allowed to live in peace that our leaders sought freedom for all the slave countries.

Indians, Hindus and Muslims alike were victims of insults, discrimination, exploitation and countless injustices at the hands of white men. Freedom as sought by our leaders was freedom from all these desperations. We had never strived for the partition of India and man slaughter in which Millions of Indians and property worth crores was burnt to dust. The responsibility of the communal warfare which spread like wild fire throughout India vests entirely with Jinnah and not a single Mussalman can be blamed for what he did by his arms and match boxes.

Kashmir was not consulted when the Indian leaders consented to the partition of India. India was divided when the voice of Kashmir was shut up behind the prison bars. Still Kashmir is proud of Sheikh and his leadership that it could maintain communal peace even to the last. Division

of India was their (the Indian leaders') affair. The Sheikh had to do absolutely nothing with it. When he was set free, he found India divided into two dominions. Before him, now was the question: which of the two dominions would be helpful to the cause he had undertaken that of ameliorating the Kashmiri masses, the peasants. He also saw that India government had not deviated from its, drafted programme. The India Government had openly declared that it stood for the people and the poor, while on the other hand Pakistan had become a purely communal body in which the people would least count. Likewise he openly declared his policy in favour of India.

Through years of discipline this great leader and statesman, the Gandhi of Kashmir, has achieved rare poise and sublime sublimity. This task to which he is devoting himself, according to a Pakistani friend of mine, is an , 'impossible" one, because as my friend feels, he cannot succeed to unite India again when once it has been divided. His greatness is noted there where he has taken upon himself the hard task of the freeing of his people from dire poverty, political bondage, religious strife, supersitition, ignorance and debasing traditions. Millions of his countrymen in India as in Kashmir are subjected to-day to indescribable privations. Illiteracy and supersitition hold multitudes in tyranny,

while dogmas and customs shackle countless millions.

For seventeen years Sheikh Abdulla has borne the burdens of his people. He had opposition and persecution in unlimited measure. All India looks to him for leadership and guidance to-day. The demands on his time are unlimited, the load he carries has crushed the strongest of Indian leaders already. Though the task is very hard, yet there is little worry or anxiety in his experience. Enmity and hostility long ago disappeared from his attitudes. His countenance shines with radiance and joy from which the desperate Indians pluck hope and courage. He is the symbol of United India in which his countrymen are free in the real sense of the word.

The pre-eminence of Sher-i-Kashmir's influence in Kashmir stands unquestioned. His name is a household word. He is the one towering figure in Kashmir. No Indian leader equals him in political strength. He wields an illimitable power over his followers who would sacrifice anything at his bidding. Sheikh Abdulla is the greatest of all Kashmiris in fact. In him we find embodied the hope of a new India in which there is no religious strife, but the peasantry is gleamed and Government is based on nationalism, not on communalism as in Pakistan to-day.

Coming back to India, what we need to set right our social ills, is communism in politics of which Sher-i-Kashmir has given the heading in Kashmir. To-day communally India is in a dark age. Many of our leaders to-day, men of action as they ought to have proved to be, are wasting their energies and exploiting the masses on entirely anti-nationalistic things. Jai Prakash has lost labour's love, Gandhiji is bearing the brunt of an ungrateful people and is still treading on troubled waters. India's great seers are seeing in their trance a wholesale destruction in store for the children of Mother India. Cities and villages are burning, men, women and children are helplessly dying, innocent babies and imbecile adults are made the targets of lethal weapons—all this has happened and all this is still allowed to happen—but at this darkest hour of India's history rises up a Kashmiri to lead the East and give India the fruit of her cherished freedom. Future glorifies him as a blossom still in an infancy of leadership, but he shows signs of becoming a top man in India, honour embalms him and the depressed and desperate Indians all over the country look for him for their future. Even the spirit of the Poet hallows round him and sings to the Nation.

Let honour come to me from Thee
 through a call to some desperate task,
 in the pride of poignant suffering.

Lull me not into languid dreams,
 Shake me out of this cringing in the dust,
 Out of the fetters that shackle our mind,
 make futile our destiny;
 Out of the unreason that bends my dignity down.

Shatter this age-long shame of mine
 And raise my head
 into the boundless sky
 into the generous light
 into the air of SUCCESS.

Yet what is this success? It is the historic mission of attaining national freedom for India.

He is clear about his principles and objectives and that is how he is always prepared for compromise even with his enemies. But he hates that person, that leader who would be made to slur over his principles and objectives by an external agency. According to his convictions to mislead is far worse than to offend.

The task before Sheikh Abdulla that of making Kashmir really 'Heaven on Earth', and that of leading India to its destined goal, seems rather "impossible" to many of us when we see that communalism as preached by Jinnah is gaining grounds in India, that the trouble inevitable at the borders of our country show an ugly sign, that certain undermining forces are

set at work by those of our enemies who do not want us to be free. But when we see that the countries which encouraged Fascism are seeing the worst of days, to-day we become alive to that Great Hope of Great India, and we avow with faith the leadership of those who propose to take India a long way ahead so that it could lead the East in the years to come

Let us, therefore come together, one and all, irrespective of caste, creed or colour, and after raising the slogan of *Sheikh Abdulla* - 'Hindu - Muslim Sikh-Ithad, Zindabad!'

‘ہندو - مسلم - سکھ - اتحاد - زندہ باد!‘

to the skies vaulted over the Indian soil, reiterate our Independence Pledge:—

‘We believe that it is the inalienable right of the *Indian people*, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India had not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but had based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and have thereby ruined India economically,

politically, culturally, and spiritually, It was, therefore, that India had to sever the British connections and attain complete independence.

India had been ruined economically. The revenue derived from our people was out of all proportion to our income. Our average income was seven pice (less than two pence) per day, and of the heavy taxes we paid 20 per cent were raised from the land revenue derived from the peasantry and 3 per cent from the salt tax, which falls most heavily on the poor.

Village industries such as hand-spinning, had been destroyed, leaving the peasantry idle for at least four months in the year, and dulling their intellect for want of handicrafts, and nothing had been substituted as in other countries, for the crafts thus destroyed.

Customs and currency had been so manipulated as to heap further burdens on the peasantry. British manufactured goods constituted the bulk of our imports. Customs duty betrayed clear partiality for British manufacturers, and revenue from them was used not to lessen the burden on the masses but for sustaining a highly extravagant administration. Still more arbitrary had been the manipulation of the exchanger ratio which had resulted in millions being drained away from the country.

Politically India's status had never been so reduced as under the British regime. No reforms had given real political power to the people. The tallest of us had to bend before foreign authority. The rights of free expression of opinion and free association had been denied to us, and many of our countrymen were compelled to live in exile abroad. All administrative talent was killed, and the masses had to be satisfied with petty village offices and clerkships.

Culturally, the system of education had torn us from our moorings and our training had made us hug the very chains that bind us.

Spiritually, compulsory disarmament had made us unmanly and the presence of an alien army of occupation, employed with deadly effect to crush in us the spirit of resistance had made us think that we cannot look after ourselves or put up a defence against foreign aggression, or even defend our homes and families from the attacks of thieves, robbers and miscreants.

We had, therefore, held it to be a crime against man and God to submit any longer to a rule that had caused this fourfold disaster to our country. We had also, however, recognized that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. We had prepared ourselves by withdrawing, so far as we could, voluntary

association from the British Government, and were prepared for disobedience, including non-payment of taxes. By this we were convinced of the end of this inhuman rule.

But we have not been able to digest the pill of freedom. *One of us stabbed the country in the back.* He dissociated himself from forming a 'joint front' which would have proved formidable even for the ablest of British diplomats. We heard of the 'Statute of Westminster' 'the Simon Commission of 1930', 'Linthgow offer of 1940' and last of all 'Cripps Mission of 1942' which evolved a scheme in which rights of non-accedance was given to the provinces. This laid the basis of vivesection and dashed the hopes of United India. Thus the British taught their pawn the theory of 'Two Nations' which, after the division of India seems 'absurd' to Hindus and Muslims alike. Consequence of Pakistan is an wholesale destruction for the East. Some time after even Mr. Jinnah, we shall see, will be dismayed since he would not stand the imminent internal rebellion of those who stand for 'liberty and fraternity' and the external howl of the freedom loving people of the world. To dignify a religious minority into a sort of divine nation and then to demand holy land (Pakistan) and a sovereign state indicate clearly the gradual growth of Fascism which dies hard". Moreover "the ugly happenings of the three months after the transfer of power have conclusively

demonstrated that the Two Nation Theory is nothing but a dangerous doctrine conceived by Fascists and executed by gangsters. Religion can never form the basis of nationality; while, on the other hand, it has been stated in unequivocal terms from the national forum that the Indian Union would not be a sectarian or religious state. Naturally, then, when the passions have subsided, India's problems will be viewed in their proper perspectives by the people of India and the false doctrine of Two Nations in India will be discredited and discarded by all."

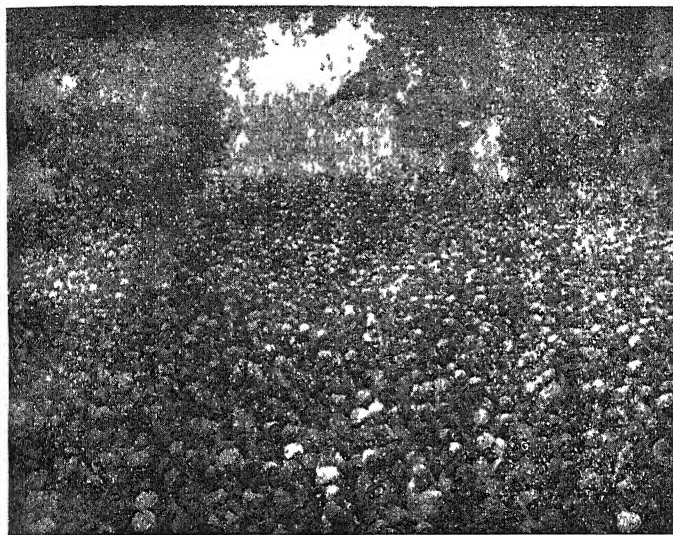
To-day the Happy Valley is in distress, but the Kashmiris have routed their foes admirably. They have stood their ordeal heroically and superbly proved to the world that these are still the days of chivalry and patriotism. They have taken the pledge to shed their last drop of blood at the command of *Ghazi Abdulla* to save their land from anything bad. The whole Valley to-day is resounding with the cries.

شہرہ کشمیر کا کیا ارشاد؟ ہندو - مسلم - سکھ اتحاد

The common slogan of the 'Home Guards', which they sing in tilting notes to rekindle inspiration even from the dead souls is:—

اپنا خون بہائے گیں - وطن کو بچائیں گیں

(We shall pour our own blood to save our land)



THIS IS SHER-I-KASHMIR SPEAKING

Millions Hail Him

Let these slogans come like clarion calls to every Indian—Hindus Muslim, and Sikh alike, so that once in his time also he is roused and inspired to the performance of a desperate task, and proves to the world that Indian patriotism far more superior than that of the Romans and Greeks who have been but the followers of India in its ancient culture and civilization !

Along with it let us record our resolution of remembrance to those who have suffered for India, patriots known and unknown:—

‘We the citizens of ‘one India’ record our proud and grateful appreciation of the sons and daughters of India who have taken part in the great struggle for independence and have suffered and sacrificed so that the mother land may be free; of our great and beloved leader, Mahatma Gandhi, who has been a constant inspiration for us, ever pointing to the path of high purpose and noble endeavour; of the hundreds of our brave youth who have laid down their lives at the altar of freedom; of the martyrs of Peshawar and the whole Frontier Province, Sholapur, Midnapur District, and Bombay, of the heroes of Netaji’s National Army; of the scores of thousands who have faced and suffered barbarous lathi charges, gun bullets; of the men of the Garhwali Regiment, and all other Indians in the military and the police ranks of the British Government, who have refused, at the peril of their own lives,

to fire or take other action against their own countrymen; of the indomitable peasantry of Gujrat which have faced without flinching and turning back all manner of acts of terrorism, and the brave and long-suffering peasantry of the other parts of India, which has taken full part in the struggle despite every effort to suppress it; of the worst victims of the Punjab and Bengal, whose homes have been burnt, whose families have been wiped out of existence, whose properties made after years of endless toil have been looted; of the merchants and the other members of the commercial community, who have helped, at great loss to themselves, in the national struggle; of the hundreds of thousands of men and women who have gone to prisons and suffered all manner of privation and sometimes assaults and beatings even inside the gaol walls; and especially of the ordinary volunteer who, like a true soldier of India, without care of fame or reward, thinking only of the great cause he served, has laboured unceasingly and peacefully through suffering and hardship.

And we record our homage and deep admiration for the womanhood of India, who, in the hour of peril for the motherland, forsook the shelter of their homes and, with unfailing courage and endurance, stood shoulder to shoulder with their menfolk in the front line of India's national army, to share with them the sacrifices and triumphs of the struggle; and our pride at the youth of the

country and the Vanar Sena, whom even their tender age could not prevent from participating in the struggle and offering martyrs for the cause.

And, further, we record our grateful appreciation of the fact that all the major and minor communities and classes in India have joined together in the great struggle and given of their best to the cause; of particularly the minority communities—the Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians and others, who, by their valour and loyal devotion to the cause of the common motherland, have helped and taken a vow to bear with us all the perils of building up united and indissoluble nation, certain of victory, and resolved to achieve and maintain the independence of India, and to use this new freedom to raise the shackles from, and to remove the inequalities among all classes of the people of India, and thus also to serve the larger cause of humanity. And with this splendid and inspiring example of sacrifice and suffering in India's cause before us, we repeat our Pledge of Independence, and resolve to carry on the fight till India is united again, and the soil is completely freed from the menaces of Pakistan.

In the same breath ere our spirit and enthusiasm roused by these lines which carry to the reader the call of the Motherland, direct us to the rightful course, let us all together say with one voice so loud that the alarm sweeps over the territory of Pakistan the common slogan of the Kashmiris.

CHAPTER III.

QUAID-E-AZAM OF INDIA.

Islam' is a word in Arabics which means '*maker of peace*'. In the holy Koran, however, it appears as a term for the religion of prophet Mahomed. the founder of Mahommedan. The adherents of Mahommedanism are known as Muslims or collectively as Islam. Its great progress in the beginning in Africa, Europe, Asia Minor and Spain was entirely due to its humanising faith which was most needed by the people of the world tormented then by utter chaos of civil war, banditry and piracy. Strife bitter and devastating was everywhere to be found among individuals, classes, nations and races. Worse than that had been witnessed in Mecca before 610 A.D. when prophet Mohamed began to preach a new faith that of one God-Ullah who had sent His Son to the world to purge it of all the evils.

Prophet Mohamed taught Muslims the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. His Commandment to every Mussalman is that he shall incarnate His teachings in daily conduct.

Many Muslim empires came into existence after His death. When the prophet died in 632 A.D. His faith had a considerable hold on the inhabitants of Arabia and Asia Minor. In the 11th and 12th centuries, Asia Minor being completely Mahommedan, the faith spread over India. Turkey, a Muslim country flourished as a great European power in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. But never in the history of the world was set up an empire on the name of 'Islam'. Pakistan, the 'holy land', as we are expected to call it, whose one great motive—which is but an allusion to its dictators—is to stream across Asia in successive waves of advance, and conquest, vanquishing, exterminating, overwhelming, overmastering, taking possession..... I mean the blinding vision of which the dictators of Pakistan have caught sight of !

What is more "humourous" about what we are seeing inside Pakistan to-day, is that Mr. Jinnah even did not know what he was made to do and demand by Churchills etc.

The case for Pakistan and the balkanisation of India, it would be worth while to note, was tossed up for the first time by British politicians—to whom we should pay a tribute for the painstaking research they have made into Indian political history, for the impartiality and justice towards all parties of thought and action—to cure the political evils of India. The celebrated Indian poet

Sir Mohammad Iqbal, a Kashmiri, had raised his voice for the liberty of every Mussalman. We might as well say that he pleaded for regionalism, about which, Professor Coupland threw a brighter light later on. But it never meant Pakistan.

India with her geographical situation, her population, and her resources was equally entitled to be a world power like America and Russia to-day. Only the failure of democracy and the dis-unity among various communities could prevent India from this development. Hindus claimed the social foundations of democracy which are akin to their tradition. In case democracy flourished and nationalism prevented disunity, no power on earth could have thought of obstructing India's path to Greatness.

History, itself had decided that India shall be neither Hindu nor Muslim but Indian. Geography made for the political unity of India, and therefore a demand for the division of India was completely "*absurd*". Division of India was, decidedly an attempt to prevent India from being a great world power.

One great drawback, which stood in the way of nationalism in India, was, according to Sheikh Abdulla and others of his creed, the domination of social inequality in Hindu society. The lack of cohesion between Hindus and Muslims was entirely due to the ascetism of caste Hindus. Gandhiji

had, therefore, made untouchability the great problem of India. He had likewise prescribed the removal of untouchability as the recipe for freedom.

Patriotic Muslim leaders like Badshah Khan (the Frontier Gandhi), Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Asaf Ali, Sheikh Abdulla and others were impressed by the philosophy of Gandhiji that of 'one nation' and had dedicated their lives to the service of the common Motherland under the pride and prestige of 'tri-colour' national emblem of India.

So came the Government of India Act of 1935. Congress was prepared to accept anything that would mean independence; but the Muslim League which was gradually taking the hold of Muslim masses by its creed of "*Religious protection*" denounced "*Federation*" and "*Democracy*". Congress in order to take the British by surprise were prepared for all sorts of concessions and privileges to the Muslims, whose Voice then, as '*Dawn*' wrote some where was Quide-e-Azam Mohd. Ali Jinnah.

What next surprised the nationalist Indians was the utterance of Mr. Jinnah in March 1941 at Aligarh University where he told the world, Democracy is impossible in India since there is not a single homogeneous nation and a single culturally and socially organized society". My friend, who represented a Congress-minded daily paper of India at the meeting told

me that B. B. C. correspondents were, so to say, out with joy at the thesis of 'Two Nations' Theory as discovered by Jinnah at the Conference. This caused great despair in the heart of every Indian patriot.

A few days after it was seen that Mr. Jinnah enjoyed the British journalistic support also. Moreover he had warned the Muslims of India against the 'permanent domination of a Hindu majority'. Before that in 1937 at its Lucknow Session, the Muslim League had denounced Federation which, as the memorandum of the League read, was a scheme detrimental to the interests of the people of India generally and to those of Muslims in particular'. Later in 1939 the Working Committee of the league had adumbrated its new constitutional theory that of dissociation from any compromise with the Congress.

With the demand for Pakistan, Mr. Jinnah had won over much of support and favourable opinion in Muslim India. On his assurances and promises many educated Muslims also spoke in favour of Pakistan. The Press and the platform were commenting too much on 'Transfer of population'. 'Exchange of property' etc. Everybody talked about Pakistan in his own fashion, and every one was vague about his conceptions. Too much literature was published by the Congressites and Independents, and from the material so ob-

tained Mr. Jinnah taught himself what he was made to demand.

Congress, on the other hand, was firm with its conviction and followed its programmes with the same might. It wanted to give special and peculiar position to the Muslims of India inspite of the opposition that was raised by Hindu organizations. The Congress had, likewise hoped that the Muslims of India shall occupy an honourable place in the national life of India, Government and administration of the country so that both Hindus and Muslims could work for a free India with a free and independent nation, the Great Indian nation so that Indians could play an equal part with the comity of nations in bringing about an everlasting peace in the world.

In the nationalism of Gandhiji, or say of the Congress, in the past as to-day, every community enjoys complete sense of security for its religious, political, cultural, social and economic rights and interests. It stands against all types of communal rule.

Congress stands against the exploitation of the people of India and has time and again reiterated its pledge of free India. It is determindly opposed to the vassalization of Indians and is irrevocably opposed to any constitution, any Government that undermines the masses. India-

nism composed of various communities and the draft constitution of the Indian National Congress plans for a national state of india.

With a view to counterblasting the 'United India' demand of Indian National Congress, Mr. Jinnah formulated the theory of Two Nations at the Muslim League meeting of April 1940. He said, Such divergent nationalities as Hindus and Muslims could not be transformed into one nation by the artificiality of British parliamentary statutes'. The two represented differences not merely of religion but of distinct social orders of peoples who neither intermarried nor inter-dined, who differed in philosophy, culture and literature, whose inspiration was drawn from different sources of history, whose epics and heroes were different and whose victories and defeats overlapped'.

This caused commotion throughout India. This was also the greatest blow to the sincerity of the Congress idealism. Just the same time the Viceroy informed Mr. Jinnah that 'His Majesty's Government are not under any apprehension as to the importance of the contentment of the Muslim community to the stability and success of any constitutional developments in India'.

The Muslim League Press, likewise, particularly the *Dawn*, now wrote columns of editorials, splashed banners, double columns, about 'Rule by

Majority', 'Right of veto', 'Communal Electorate', 'Dyarchy'. The Congress, on the other hand, made many attempts for a mutual compromise—Gandhiji called on Mr. Jinnah many times, but these parleys resulted in nothing. Mr. Jinnah wanted neither Federation, nor Provincial Self-Government, nor Responsible Government, nor Dyarchy at the Centre nor the Franchise, not even Separate Electorate. Some of India's ablest politicians and statesmen made it clear to Mr. Jinnah that Pakistan was a 'negative demand' and that its consequences would be disastrous to Hindus and Muslims alike. They had anticipated the argy of mad communal warfare which was, according to their predictions, inevitable after the division of India. One of his own lieutenants said that 'Quid-e-Azam's method was a devastating one'. But Mr. Jinnah could not be corrected. Even Maulana Azad suggested that the new constitution should be built on the facts of Indian geography, history and life, but nothing came out of it.

Congress which was a representative body of the Muslims also, had, after years of profound deliberation and plaining pinned its faith on *Equal Democracy*. In a representative democracy there was the danger of class legislation on the part of numerical majority, which would inevitably result in Rule by Majority—the Hindus. But this danger was abated by an equal representation since the Government planned by the Congress

was the Government of the *whole* people by the *whole* people, equally represented. The Minorities, particularly, had an equal representation with the Majority and what was most noteworthy of the 'Appeasement policy' of the Congress was that the Minorities had the priority of being heard first. Every or any section of people was represented. The Minorities were fully represented as the Majority. Congress Government even at present when Mr. Jinnah wants it to be a Hindu State, is not the Government of inequality and privilege, but it is what the whole world calls it, an 'equal Government'. India Government, apart from all other features, is based on the principle of democracy, which professes equality as its very root and foundation. In it every individual enjoys fair and equal share. It is, thus, what *Sheikh Abdulla* calls it, 'Peoples' Government' 'عوامی راج'

This argument would be somewhat confusing to that *Legi* friend of mine who once said that the task before *Sheikh Abdulla* is an "impossible one. He would, here, again comment, 'Even, then it is the Minority that would suffer since the democracy so constituted would give powers of Government in all cases to the numerical Majority'. But I would like to illumine the mind of my friend with an argument that tells everything about 'equal democracy' The argument is, 'it does something very different, it gives powers

of the Government to a *Majority of the Majority*, who may be, and often are, but a *Minority of the whole*'.

Congress quarters time and again invited Mr. Jinnah for a constitutional compromise for solving the Indian political problem. It had, also, with equal sincerity offered an *equal* representation in all spheres. Muslim leaders inside the Congress were fully convinced of the sincerity with which the Indian statesmen were trying to evolve a constitutional scheme. Gandhiji, Pandit Nehru and other high rank leaders called on Mr. Jinnah with a view to getting his friendly support to the cause of the common people. They failed in all their attempts. After that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was sent to Mr. Jinnah. It was thought that Maulana Saheb, being a Mussalman himself would be able to make Mr. Jinnah understand what really was *truth* in what the Congress proposed. Mr. Jinnah did not have any political talk with Azad perhaps because Maulana Saheb knew *better* about the cause of Mussalmans being a great scholar and a religious priest.

In 1942 Japan made a violent eruption in East Asia. United States of America's fleet was withdrawn to the American coast, "Prince of Wales" and "Repulse" were sunk. Singapore had surrendered, and the circumstances with which the British were confronted left them no 'assured

means' of defending India from the invasion by the Japanese. And the Cripps Offer was made to India. Congress could have as well given no head to the tactics of the British diplomats. Glorious opportunity awaited the people of India. Netaji was marching towards 'Delhi' with his National Army. Calcutta was bombarded everyday. Indias' sons were bathing in blood for the sake of their motherland on Burma front. Indian soldiers had joined the National Army of Netaji. Even after Indian soldiers were removed from the Burma front and Yankees were posted there, the onward march of Netaji's soldiers could not be checked. Netaji was marching towards Delhi with unabated pace,

Where would have been Mr. Jinnah or his Pakistan had Congress, then, not sacrificed everything for its faith on nationalism? Atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, and it could never be dropped on India. Had the Congress then changed its policy, map of India would have been certainly different to-day

Well, then we had the Interim Government headed by Pandit Nehru. Again came Mr. Jinnah's turn. The League boycotted it and Mr. Jinnah raised his voice for the haphazard fragmentation of India,

Next there was the 'Direct Action' declaration

of the league which devastated large part of Bengal, and was the cause of riots, stabbings, arson, loot in many other parts of India. Only the Punjab had been safe from this bloody spectre.

Later came the proposal for the division of India to which, much to the surprise of Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab, Pandit Jawahar lal Nehru consented. The Punjab and Bengal were divided. Pakistan was made, and what were the consequences of Pakistan are known even to the playing children also—so horrible have been the happenings.

Mr. Jinnah was made Quid-e-Azam by the Muslims of India who constitute nine crores of India's huge population of forty crores. Muslims of India, who were very eager about Pakistan, had thought that Pakistan would bestow bliss upon their lives, that all of a sudden it would transform their lives and credit them with concessions and privileges so that they along with their families would be the happiest.

Well, then India has been divided into two dominions of India and Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah and his Cabinet Ministers, it would be worth while to note, call India not India but Hindustan. But India is India even after the division since its policy remains unchanged. It professes to be, not what Mr. Jinnah wants it to be — a Hindu State—but a national state of all the people of India

since its constitution is a democracy of the *whole* people. To-day there live about five crores of Mussalmans in different parts of India. They include men of all trades, peasants, factory workers, office clerks, business men, technicians, landlords estate holders, etc. That leaves only four crores of Mussalmans in Pakistan. How then is Pakistan a Muslim State if greater number of Muslims live under a Government, which according to Mr. Jinnah is not a State of the Muslims but a Hindu State? No one can call Pakistan a Muslim State when 55 per cent of Muslim population lives and proposes to live in future also outside Pakistan. It is, in fact, Mr. Jinnah's State.

Let us suppose that at the instance of Mr. Jinnah, India becomes Hindustan, a Hindu State just as Pakistan is a Muslim State. It inevitably means that the National Government of India shal break, Jawahar and Gandhi shall vacate, and the Hindu Mahasabha shall form the Government and come to the forefront. Hiudus have been almost vacated from West Punjab. The attitude of the Pakistan Government towards the minorities in Sind and other parts has forced them to vacate to Hindustan. More or less Pakistan is free from Hindus and Sikhs, even Christians and Anglo-Indians also. Since its establishment it has been the policy of the Pakistan Government to coerce the minorities by disbanding them from services and blocking their commercial prospects

so that they are forced to leave the soil of Pakistan. More of it we are reading in papers everyday.

India Government had to face great problems of the rehabilitation of the refugees. They have done with it with great ability and statesmanship. Evacuees from Pakistan are gradually settling down in India. Whole of the North Western Frontier Province has been vacated by the Hindus and Sikhs. India Government had to spend huge sums in evacuating the minorities from there. Cooked *chappatis* everyday were sent by air to Kohat and other places where the poor refugees were stranded and held in breath by the citizens of Pakistan whose guns and sabres were ever pointed towards the heads of the innocent women and children of these refugees.

This was happening in Pakistan, while on the other hand Muslim refugees in East Punjab and Delhi were protected and fed by the Government of India. Gandhiji himself visited the Muslim refugee camps in Delhi. Government made arrangements for the transport and helped the refugees to reach their places. In Delhi itself stern measures were adopted to check all communal outbreak so that in less than a week Delhi was set right again.

Did Pakistan Government do anything like that to save the minorities? I remember one

of the officials of Pakistan justifying his argument that the Government itself, being new, had failed to control the religious zeal of the citizens of Pakistan who were out with joy on the achievement of Pakistan. Well sir, if that is what is happening in Pakistan, it has no right to call itself a Government? I have been taught by great writers on politics and administration that a Government which fails to maintain law and order is not worth being a Government and must at once be broken ere it brings ruin to people's life and property.

Are there any such accusations against the India Government—let me ask my *Pakistani* friend? The responsibility of the happenings in East Punjab also vests with those who demanded the division of India, though part of it is also due to the retaliation of the Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab whose labour and love of years was molten into dust in a seconds time. For the rest is perfect peace in all other parts of India. People Hindus and Muslim alike have resumed there duties of their life and life is returning to normal again. The credit of all this goes to India Government and those ablest of Indians who are shouldering the responsibilities purely in a spirit of rendering service to the peoples of India.

Muslims of India are realizing their mistakes now. They hear from their friends and relations

about what is happening in Pakistan to-day. They have seen what happened to those miserable refugees who had to be moved from place to place, who have lost their precious comrades, darling children, their property and social status in the so-called transfer of population. Nobody howsoever fanatic he may be, shall like to lose the warmth of home for his fanaticism which might make as it has done in many cases, the public road his home! Such has been the fate of many people who were nicely settled and socially reputed before the transfer of power. The horror of the scene has alarmed everyone and to-day almost five crores of Mussalmans oppose Pakistan and plead for United India. In case India is declared a Hindu State, there naturally should be no place in Hindustan for the Muslims for then Hindustan shall have to accommodate 30 crores of Hindus. Therefore the Muslims shall have to vacate and go to Pakistan, because in a Hindu State Muslims have no right to live. Imagine now how the Muslim brothers of Mr. Jinnah would be stranded in Hindustan and what a colossal task it would be for Mr. Jinnah to accommodate so many crores of human beings. Idealism of Mahatma Gandhi shall not impress the Hindus then nor shall the sincerity of Pandit Nehru have any effect in the nation building of Hindustan. Hindu India shall become alive to fanaticism since, as Mr. Jinnah wants it, it shall be a communal rule everywhere.

It shall not, in any way, be a task which human agency can perform. History, our culture and civilization have settled the Hindus and Muslims of India on this land. It has been the natural process of the centuries which brought us closer and together. We have had the experiences of the transfer of population in the Punjab and we have seen what wholesale destruction it has caused, and we would have ourselves seen that this process is not repeated.

Rehabilitation of people is not an easier task. Different sentiments work in different ways in different people. To-day hark to the cursings of those hearts of the refugees whose bungalows have become the roads, who are living in refugee camps, whose newborn babies die dog's death in these unhygienic places, whose lacs are nowhere and who are wandering from place to place in search of jobs, and accommodation! Do they curse Gandhiji who brought back soul to their hearts? Do they curse Pandit Nehru who is sharing their woes in his heart of hearts? Or do they—the countless miseries—curse Jinnah who has brought about the blight and is still looking forward to an all out destruction? Really this tale of woe is heart renting!

Praised be the leadership of Sheikh Abdulla that he has maintained even to this day the communal concord in whole of the Jammu and Kashmir State



WE CHALLENGE THE FASCISTS

Determine the undetermined

His message to each and every worker of the National Conference is that he (the worker) shall maintain communal concord and stake his own life also for Hindu-Muslim-Sikh unity.

This is also his message to the States' People. Unity is the very foundation of nationalism, says Sheikh Abdulla "It is the definition of freedom and the very secret of progress. If we want to see India happy, we must maintain it at all costs".

Sheikh Abdulla's politics has strengthened Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru's creed of nationalism. In him they see the great leader of the Muslims of India and Pakistan. He shall be the voice of Muslims in India. India Government shall time and again seek his support and co-operation regarding all the problems concerning the Muslim community of India. He is the one great Muslim who can represent Muslims better than Mr. Jinnah did, and, therefore he is, in the true sense of the word, Quid-e-Azam of Mussalmans.

To-day everyone in Pakistan and many other Muslims outside Pakistan, because of their religious zeal, feel differently about Pakistan and look with prejudiced eyes at those Muslims who oppose or criticize the politics of Mr. Jinnah. But this fervour would be soon over when people would realize that Pakistan is a Government only and not a religious institution where everyone could

go and feed himself on the charity of others.

“*Government*” and “*freedom*” are meaningless for individuals unless they give them better opportunities for growth and provides those means with which the people can feed themselves better than what was their due when they were slaves. A Government that fails to achieve this for its people is not spared by a peoples’ rebellion like the one that finished the Czar in Russia and challenged the monarchy of France in that crusade for liberty and equality. ‘Bayonets cannot enforce loyalty. When passions are roused fate of nations is not decided by dictator’s convictions. Blimps can no longer rule destinies of human beings. A voice has come from the inner depths of the Himalayas to the people of India, ‘Wake up your destiny awaits you now. You have to decide your future yourself’ Popular movements cannot be crushed by mis-interpretation of religion. India has been given to her people. It is they that shall decide its future. How long can Jinnah hold the freedom loving people of India in shackles of religious bondage? One day a revolution will come before which the greatest cannons shall not stand. That is in fact the fate of Governments which are not national-peoples’ Governments.

Sheikh Abdulla of Kashmir, Quid-e-Azam of India as he will be known heretofore, believes that National Government is the thing that is

wanted in India. He is not in favour of the transfer of population, which would cause collapse of the machinery of administration and leave the home of forty crores of human beings in utter chaos.

If ever a nation had to despair of life, it was India in 1947. Every hope on which Indian nation was built lay prostrate. Riots occurred pitilessly day after day. Cities were burning and through this, with no protection, men, children, delicate women, strove to hurry, always with the dread of rioters at their heels. Mothers unable to nourish or carry their infants took out the breath from them rather than abandon them to die with the butchering swords of the rioters. ? I have heard the unknown patriot at the last moment of his life saying 'My last wishes are for my country's welfare. Please ask the leaders to end party strife and consolidate the Union.'

Freedom of the Motherland was the one consuming passion of every Indian. No body wanted to see the horror of man slaughter. Hindus and Sikhs are also to be equally blamed for this. This was not their mistake. It was the blunder of those who demanded division of India. The dominions that have been founded will go down in history in respect of their merit, and in between the names of the martyrs will ever and rightly be held in honour.

The India that Sheikh Abdulla saw with his youthful imagination was India of the Indians, a great nation. And Kashmir was the symbol of one United India. It is the India of all the communities—Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs alike. And this great patriot has not the least illusion about the almost desperate chance of saving India from further destruction and of Uniting India and Pakistan into one great National Government somewhat like the one that is functioning in Russia to-day.

Every Muslim is not a Nawab or a Zamindar. There are millions of Muslims who, like the Hindus, are poor, illiterate, ignorant and backward, who have been dwarfed by the centuries of servitude, and whose lives call for amelioration. If Jinnah is for Pakistan, who is their leader? Is not *Sheikh Abdulla* their guide, their Quid-e-Azam?

To-day he has set his shoulders to the performance of huge duties in Kashmir, to-morrow a bigger responsibility that of championing the cause of the five crores of Mussalmans awaits him, and he has to perform all these duties, and lead the erring people through the darkest caverns within which they are held up to-day.

The idea that India will be a Hindu

State and that Muslims shall have to vacate is a "fantastic" one. India cannot remain divided for long. One day it shall be reunited again, and that day shall be *the* day of Sheikh Abdulla.

India has become free but the one great end is still undermined. Together again two great Kashmiris Sheikh Abdulla and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru have now set themselves *to determine the undetermined end*. They represent the symbol of unity and brotherhood and give a great promise of India. The two represent the two major communities of India. None of the British games can influence them, no Jinnahs can weaken their cause, because their cause is a holy one.

This, naturally would be headache for Jinnah. He had hoped that his ways of undermining the Muslim masses would not be exposed and that he would be successful in defeating Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru by preaching a new theory which was nothing more than "baseless".

Time is fast approaching when our people would realize their mistakes and correct themselves. Congress idealism will flourish again. There would be no Nawabzadas nor Jinnah's but Jawahar and Abdulla would be the sentinels of India.

CHAPTER IV

ABDULLA'S POLITICAL CAREER

Some forty years back Kashmiri Moham-
edans had little or no English education. They
were engaged in various occupations other than
those of the Imperial Service of the State. Their
professions were the Kashmir Crafts, and the
majority of the population lived in the villages,
where they worked as share-croppers to the
landlords.

The standard of living of an ordinary
peasant was very low, but his physique was, as
it is now, excellent. We could find excellent
cultivators, best craftsmen, artisans, first rate shawl
weavers etc. among the Kashmiri Mohamedans.
Besides Kashmiri Mohamedans offered the best
Hanjis (boatmen) and *Khansamans*.

Ninety-six out of every hundred in the State
lived on land in 8,740 villages where they were
oppressed by want and disease. The average
yearly income of a peasant barely reached eleven
rupees, and therefore Kashmiris were seeing the
bitterest type of poverty and strife. So backward
were the Kashmiris in general, and the Muslims in
particular in Western education and civilization
that even the upper classes of Kashmiris were
deemed unfit to be employed in the administra-
tive services of the State, or recruited in the military

where Dogras enjoyed the monopoly of being the only community fit for this service. Of the community itself, since there were no prospects, very few Mohamedan gentlemen were matriculates. Even the parents of children thought it "useless" to educate their sons, to whom, as the parents felt sure, education would do no good in the long run since the educated even had no option but to make their parental professions the vocations of their utmost like.

Thus the policy and technique of the Government had closed the honourable and responsible careers to the talent and intellectual cleverness of certain "brilliant" youngmen of Kashmir. Kashmiris were looked down by those in office and power. I still remember how a Kashmiri had become a by-word for the "conceited" Punjabi who was called to Kashmir to trample over the legitimate rights of the Kashmiris. Even the Gracculus in the early days of Roman Empire was not subjected to so much discrimination and insults as the Kashmiri was before *Sher-i-Kashmir* launched his hard fight for the emancipation of the Kashmiris. He could not see his people worth only the palanquin bearers of Government officials and their sub-ordinates. Kashmiris were dwarfed by centuries of servitude and oppression poverty, degradation, and supersition. He could not really see his brothers in distress.

Sheikh Mohamed Abdulla, the six foot four inch burly leader of Kashmir and Quid-e-Azam of five crores of Muslims of India, was born in 1905 at Sowar, some miles towards North-East of Srinagar. His father was a shawl merchant. His trade had bestowed him with a middle class living which later made it possible for Abdulla to acquire higher education. His parents died when Abdulla was still a boy. He was, thus, left to the protection of his elder brothers who brought him up and spent a good sum of money on his education.

He could easily talk much about the administration of his State from his experiences at the school. The school masters of his time were mostly the well-read Kashmiri Pandits, who, because of no other prospects in the State, had to become petty school teachers. Some of his teachers told him of their classmates who were placed differently in life because of there being the Punjabies. Sometimes he was perplexed to find unfit officials in the offices while brilliant youngmen were idly numbering their days of the month to see when the first came when these clerks and teachers would be getting their meagre salaries with which these people could barely make both ends meet. Did he ask his mind at that time, 'Why should this be so?'. Did his experience make a reply. "Don't you know they are the Dogras?" And his school days also passed

like this in disgust and experience.

In 1930 he passed out of Aligarh University with M.Sc. and came to Kashmir with the hope of getting a nice job. He was now a different man. The' varsity life had brought about many changes in him. Western science had interested him. He wanted to live nicely on a good salary. The old-fashioned living of the Kashmiri household had no charm for him now. He hated life of desperations, since he thought it a right of every human being to make life worth living and live it for livings sake.

He was that time among the very few Kashmiri Muslims who had achieved this acedemic qualification. Many Kashmiris approached his brothers for his marriage. His brothers sought his consent. But he was able to convince them with his notion that settlement was more important than marriage and therefore marriage must come after settlement

He was really in need of a job then for he had thought that he had taxed the generocities of his brothers too much. He wanted to earn for himself and for them also. Likewise he tried his best for a job. He sent in applications in response to the advertisements which appeared from time to time in the Jammu and Kashmir Gazette. He could not get a job, but what was

his surprise was to find that men inferior to him and of no credit were given jobs simply on the basis that either they were the Dogras or their relatives were gazetted officers in the State. He interviewed many officials and talked truth to them, but they could only smile at his logic and the dashness with which he could dare to talk so bluntly with these, who were called, 'Bara shahebs' and 'Chota-Shahebs'. Their attitudes made him desperate, and all his attempts turned futile due to the State's policy of discrimination. In fact had he been given a job, the history of Kashmir would have been written differently.

Those days Muslims of Kashmir had no political leader. Their politics was their religion and their leaders were the *Moulvis*, *Pirs* and *Mullas* who were generally well versed in their religious literatures. These people used to address the masses on some religious days in mosques or *Ziarats*, and the subject of these lectures always was religion and morality. These *Moulvis*, *Pirs* and *Mullas* were highly esteemed by the people who took them as the deputies of *Ullah*. Besides this they had to do nothing with politics or the Government of the State.

Those days were also the happiest days of communal concord in Kashmir. Muslims were found in Hindu households as servants, friends,

partners etc. A Mussalman did not hesitate to take food prepared by Hindu households. Hindus and Muslims lived like brothers. They trusted each other to the full. This brotherhood had become proverbial too.

Political offences were absolutely unknown in Kashmir. Hindu-Muslim relations were of the most cordial character, and even the Ruler used to take pride in these two features of the Kashmiris. The inhabitants of the Happy Valley lived in a happy atmosphere devoid of bitterness, suspicion and mistrust. But the policy of the Government had closed all doors for qualified Muslim gentlemen like *Sheikh Abdulla*.

His persistent efforts to procure a job, however, resulted in something. He could get a job and that was of an ordinary school teacher, the profession he bitterly hated because of its monotony. There was no other option for him but to be a teacher. He tried to carry on for some time, but its experience, he found, was nothing more than disgust.

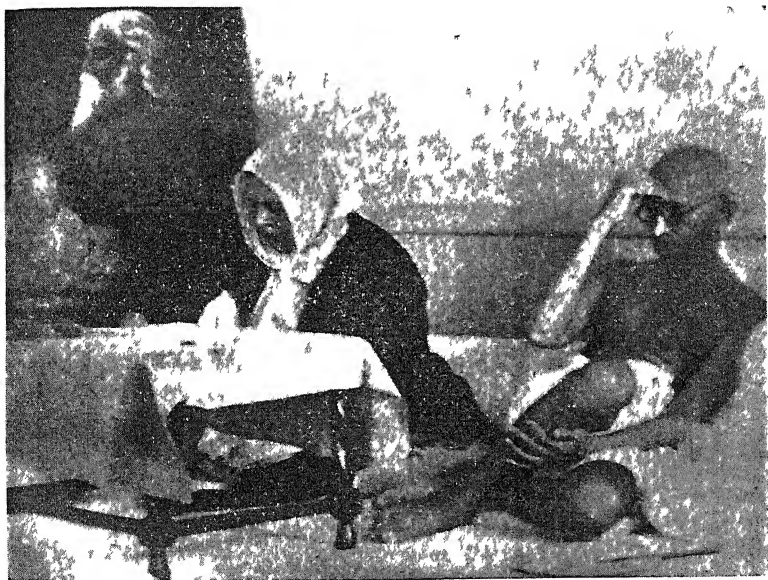
It was in those days that people in Kashmir had developed a knack to talk about "The Lahore Congress". The Congress session was held in 1929, and the noteworthy thing about the session was that large numbers of people from the Frontier Province had attended it under the leader-

ship of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan who was also present there. This had been seen for the first time in Lahore. This had also given birth to some apprehensions in the minds of those who were in favour of the League. Indian politics or what was happening in India had interested everyone in Kashmir, but Kashmir was a far off place from the Indian scene.

The first time *Sheikh Abdulla* appeared on the public stage was in September 1930 when he collected some of his friends, won the support of religious leaders and sent a representation to the Government complaining against under representation of Muslims in the Government services. The deputation met some of the Government officials and demanded a proportion of appointments to qualified Muslims in State services. But the Government turned a deaf ear to his demands.

Some of the fanatic Punjab Muslims who were then in Kashmir as visitors carried the news to the Punjab, thereby giving a subject of criticism to the Punjab papers. Thus Kashmir Government became subject of criticism of the Muslims of the Punjab. *Sheikhs* movement, however, was more personal in nature, at that time.

These days were the days of Civil Disobedience in India. The common salt had become the subject of national struggle. People were



GANDHIJI CHATTING WITH BEGUM ABDULLA

Bapus Mysterious Missions

talking about Gandhiji's 'Eleven Points' Gandhiji was arrested on May 5, 1930, and the movement was still in force. Sheikh Abdulla's movement however had nothing to do with what was happening in India at that time.

Even before Sheikh Abdulla's coming to the public stage, certain newspapers of the Punjab had been conducting a hostile propaganda against the administration of the State. The All-India Kashmir Muslim Conference held a session at Lahore in December 1930. A great deal of acrimonious criticism was passed against the State by persons who were almost vague about the situation in Kashmir. The Youngmen's Muslim Association of Jammu, which was the only organization of its kind then, had deputed a member to the Lahore Conference. The result was that at the instance of the Punjabi Muslims, the Youngmen's Muslim Association of Jammu launched an agitation against the State. The Maharaja was in Europe and the State Cabinet was functioning in his absence. *Inqilab* was creating a lot of trouble for the State. It was proscribed. Jammu, first of all saw the communal disturbances, which soon spread over Kashmir where the masses participated.

On July 13, a serious riot broke out in Srinagar. The *Ahrar Party* was organising the agitation. It sent regular Jathas into the State

territory, from the Punjab in contravention of the law. At one time 7,000 arrest were made by the State. In September organized rioting broke out in various important towns of the Kashmir Valley. Sheikh Abdulla took his part not with a view to killing the Hindus, but with the intention of overrunning the State administration which had disgusted him. He addressed masses at different places and raised them against the State. Sheikh was influenced by interested parties outside the State who wanted to make Kashmir a pawn in the game of inter-communal politics which at that moment had reached a critical stage owing to the holding of the Round Table Conference in London. Agitation was becoming intense, British troops had to be called in, and Sheikh Abdulla was jailed in 1931 for over six months. Thereafter Sheikh Abdulla began to be called as '*Sher-i-Kashmir*'

In 1932 Sheikh Abdulla came out of the jail when the agitation was brought under control. He now found a different atmosphere about him. The State had stretched forth its hand of co-operation, and had given assurances to do its best to bring the Muslim community to the forefront. The famous constitutional conference called the Glancy Commission consisting of twelve non-official members and two official members was called by the Ruler to evolve a scheme which would enforce reforms in the State. Even the Ruler in one of his messages said:—

“I repeat that if any section of my subjects desire to submit any reasonable request they will receive my sympathetic consideration.”

Abdulla was a popular name in Kashmir now. He found enough of co-operation and support from the Muslim masses. He soon organized for the first time the Muslim Conference, which immediately became the spearhead of the masses of Kashmir, more than three-quarters of whom are Muslims. But the main feature of the Conference then was to coerce the State to give more jobs to the educated Muslims. The Conference was to some extent successful in getting more appointments to the Muslims. Qualified Muslims were appointed as gazetted officers, stipends and scholarships were granted to promising youngmen for higher education and technical training in India and abroad. Abdulla, thus became an alarming figure for the State authorities, besides being the guide of educated Muslims. This naturally made him a favourite of the Middle Class homes, and his personality soon influenced the conservatives also. But his so-called politics then was not broad-based. It was limited to his circle only.

It was the time when the whole of India was shaken into new awakening by Gandhiji's lead to Civil Disobedience. 128,000 persons had courted arrests in 1933 in the Bombay Presidency, 124,000 were jailed in Bengal. Later the Delhi Pact was

talked everywhere. 'Red Shirts' were agitating against the Government. "Fakr-e-Pathan", the pride of the Pathans, was becoming a great figure in Indian politics. The Congress was having a tough fight with the British Government and it had its own psychological influence on the Kashmiris.

Sheikh Abdulla soon discovered that 'jobs for the qualified' was not the thing that could solve the bigger problems of fighting the immemorial poverty of the poor. The Congress was becoming more and more the representative of the rural masses, and it had its curious effects on those of the Kashmiris who felt for the poor masses, the peasants of Kashmir.

The vast study and practical observation of Indian politics diverted Sheikh Abdulla's own towards the common cause that he and the Congress were fighting for, that of the end of ruthless rule. In six years time he observed the Indian scene from a distance and applied his own reason to examine Congress idealism. During this period he moved about the villages, talked to the peasants, heard their complaints and cries and thereby conducted a research into Poverty. The poor hearts were calling his help to end the deep-rooted suffering of the people. The pathetic scenes of poverty created compassion in his heart, and his heart went to the poor. In the end he felt what was needed was not appointments but a popular

Government for the masses, by the masses, to the masses and the masses meant poor Hindus and Muslims alike. Thereafter the Conference became an expression of the suffering of the people. And the Muslim Conference automatically became national in its outlook though it was still Muslim in name.

Thereafter Shikh Abdulla realized that communal peace and the co-operation of all the communities was most essential for the cause he had undertaken. In his appeal to men of all communities for Co-operation, Sheikh Abdulla said in 1935:—

“My fight is for the emancipation of my country. Let us all rise above petty communal bickerings and work jointly for the welfare of the masses. I appeal to my Hindu brethren not to entertain imaginary fears and doubts. Let us assure them that their rights shall not be jeopardised if they join hands with the Mussalmans”

He then allied his party with the progressive Hindus of the State and in 1938 formally converted the Muslim Conference into the *All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference*, which has since then weathered many storms and passed through many battles and grown from strength to strength, by virtue of its democratic ideal and the ever-expanding mass following.”

From that day the *All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference* has been pressing for responsible Government under the aegis of the Maharaja and the economic amelioration of the peoples of the State, forty lacs of human beings living "between the snow-adorned barrier ranges of the Himalayas, and earth-coloured and sun-scorched plains of the Punjab in Jammu and Kashmir, Ladakh and the Frontier Regions in Poonch and the Chinani Ilaqas, Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Christians, Kashmiri Pandits, Jains and Harijans who inhabit the thirty-nine towns and nearly nine thousand villages. Consequently the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference and All India States Peoples Conference, became identical in their ideals, and so the Sheikh gained the support of A.I.S.P.C. also.

The first constitutional reform enforced by the Maharaja's Government was in 1932 when the Legislative Assembly was constituted. It consisted of seventy-five members out of which forty two were nominated and thirty three only were elected. The President was also an official. For the first time the Kashmiris were invited to vote and send their elected members to the Assembly. The Conference co-operated and sent representatives to the Assembly. But it was only in 1938 that the real fight for responsible Government was actually started.

Sheikh Abdulla addressed the masses and from the platform declared the achievement of 'People's Government' as the aim of the National Conference. Meanwhile Muslim League was winning the support of communal Muslims, who came to be known as *Bakras* by Abdulla's followers who, now, called themselves as *Shers*.

Sheikh Abdulla constantly attended the sessions of A.I.S.P.C., which is a tributary of the Indian National Congress. He thus came into close contact with Pandit Nehru, the President of the Conference. *Promotion of the establishment of full responsible Government in all the Indian States*, was the demand of the Congress as of the A.I.S.P.C. It was also the demand of the National Conference and so Sheikh Abdulla's politics merged into the politics of the Congress, and the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference naturally became a tributary of the Congress itself. This was headache for Jinnah. He employed his meddling tactics but he could not succeed in Kashmir because Abdulla's leadership was, as it is now, unquestioned.

In July 1941 Pandit Nehru and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan were invited by Sheikh Abdulla to tour into the valley and study the social and economic condition of the peasantry of Kashmir. The programme of the National Conference was sketched by him before a huge gathering attended by many distinguished visitors also. On July 12, 1943 His

Highness the Maharaja Bahadur set up a Commission to explore the possibility of reforms in political, economic and administrative spheres. Only two members were given to the National Conference while the feudal landlords, pensioners, *Jagirdars* predominated over the Commission through their representations.

The Working Committee of the National Conference met at Mujahid Manzil on the 13th and 19th and deliberated on the issue of the Commission. Those days *Kashmir Maharaja* had become the beloved of freedom loving Indians. At the time of Cripps' proposals the Maharaja, like an ordinary Indian patriot, had declared:—

“...in any case it is the duty of the Princes to show themselves patriots and that they desire that their countrymen should feel themselves the equals of nationals anywhere in the world..... ...Freedom must be our watchword—freedom from crippling restrictions and strangling control, freedom from the subordination of India's interests to the interests of other parts of the Commonwealth”.

Freedom wave had spread over India. The National Conference participated in the Commission and prepared NEW KASHMIR, meant to be a memorandum to be submitted to the constitutional

Committee. Messrs. G. M. Sadiq and M. A. Beg were deputed as the representatives of the National Conference.

It was unfortunate that the Commission revealed lack of reality. The result was that the members could not function with right earnest, due to the policy of the State. The memorandum was not submitted to the Commission. The Working Committee, on the other hand, resolved to submit the memorandum to His Highness and also to publish and circulate it in the country. Thus NEW KASHMIR became the future "draft constitution of the State and a draft plan for the economic prosperity of the country as a whole". By 1944 when the world was passing to a New World, the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference formulated concretely NEW KASHMIR, a Model State in which democracy has replaced autocracy, and the economic structure of the society is completely re-shaped, which serves the non-Muslim population as faithfully as the Muslim population, where freedom has replaced exploitation and happiness has taken the charge of sorrow. In NEW KASHMIR freedom is not confused with privilege. It is the draft for the economic emancipation of the people. And thus the political history of Kashmir is synonymous with the life story of Sheikh Abdulla.

Sheikh is frank in admiring Soviet systems

of Government machinery. From communalism Sheikh changed to nationalism and now he has progressed towards socialism. His political career dates from the last seventeen years, seven years of which were given to communalism, and ten full years to the cause of nationalism. Out of these seventeen years, he spent six years in jail. Admiring the Soveit systems, Sheikh somewhere said, "in our times, Soveit Russia has demonstrated before our eyes, not merely theoretically but in her actual day to day life and development that real freedom takes birth from economic emancipation. The inspiring picture of the regeneration of all the different nationalities and people of the U.S.S.R., and their welding together into the united mighty Soveit State that is throwing back its barbarous invaders with deathless heroism, is an unanswerable argument for the building of democracy on the cornerstone of economic equality.

In the premiership of Sir. B. N. Rau, His Highness introduced the first Popular Ministry in the State in October 1944. Mirza Mohd. Afzal Beg was chosen from the National Conference and made the Public Works Minister; the second popular Minister Wazir Ganga Ram was made the Home Minister. This was the inauguration of the constitutional changes in the State. Mr. Beg tendered his resignation from the State Council on March 18, 1946 following the decision taken by the Working Committee at its meeting held on

March 17, 1946 under the presidentship of Sheikh Mohd. Abdulla. The genesis of the dissociation is briefly indicated in the following of Quid-e-Azam:-

“Certain constitutional changes were introduced in 1944 which were glaringly inadequate and fell far short of the demand of the situation. Yet we agreed to work them in order to expedite and facilitate further change and, in particular, because we hoped that this would lead to contacts with the Ruler and co-operation in bringing about essential changes. But our efforts ended in failure and the constitutional changes were reduced to a futile shadow. The intolerable privations and grievances of the people of Jammu and Kashmir found no relief or remedy. A microscopic minority of variously graded *Jagirdars* was, and is, allowed to exercise indefensible rights over large sections of the people, who live in appalling poverty. In Jammu Province, especially in Chinani and Poonch, the Jagirdari system presents a pathetic spectacle of degrading poverty and heartless exploitation. In recent years Kashmir Province has been, as is still being, parcelled out in Jagirs which are granted to a favourite minority. Thus when land reform is considered everywhere an essential preliminary to progress, in this State a semi-feudal land system is actually being extended with all its attendant evils. As one goes up the higher valleys of the State, one is enchanted by the loneliness of mountain and valley and, at

the same time, struck dumb by the degradation of human beings there. The army of the State is drawn almost entirely from a selected class of persons of Jammu Province. The people of Kashmir Province, whether Hindu or Muslim and even though they may live in Jammu Province, are completely debarred from entering the army. The Kashmiris may join, and have in fact joined and distinguished themselves in the Indian army, but they are not eligible for the State army. It is a humiliation which is felt deeply and which underlines the policy of the State in emphasizing the inferiority of the great majority of the people.

“The State has vast and rich natural resources but these have failed to relieve poverty and utter want, Indeed no effort is apparently made to develop these resources for the common good, and Kashmir continues, in a changing world, state and unchanged and steeped in misery. This can only be due to the failure of human agency and the autocratic system of administration. It can only be remedied by the representatives of the people undertaking the task of planning and development for the rapid betterment of the masses. No State can succeed in raising the standard of people's life without educating and training them to pursue creative and productive activities.

“Prime Ministers had been coming and going in rapid succession though Kashmir remained the same. It seemed almost that some malign fate held our fair country in its vicious grip and prevented us from coming out of the quagmire in which it was sinking. War came and convulsed the world, but Kashmir remained the same backwater where time seemed to be still and the clocks did not function, except sometimes when they went backwards. The events of 1942 and 1943 shook up whole of India to its innermost depths and affected the people of Kashmir powerfully. As elsewhere in India political consciousness rose to new heights and a sense of intolerable frustration seized the people. They could not remain where they were, they could no longer continue enduring their poverty and misery, which had increased under the strain of war conditions. And yet they could not do any thing to change what they could not tolerate for the door of change was barred and bolted.

“The present Prime Minister (R. B. R. C. Kak) came to occupy the seat of authority and a new and disastrous policy of alienating the people was inaugurated. The position of the Popular Minister Mirza Mohamed Afzal was made intolerable and he

found himself compelled to resign."

In the spring of the year 1946 the Cabinet Mission came out to India to study our political problem and remove the constitutional deadlock that had created serious complications between the Indian leaders and the British Government. Prime Minister Attlee's announcement for "speedy" transfer of power affected the Indian States as it did affect the rest of India. Sheikh Abdulla, being entirely disgusted with the policy of suppression of the State authorities submitted "Quit Kashmir" Memorandum to the Cabinet Mission. The memorandum opens with the words:

"To-day the national demand of the people of Kashmir is not merely the establishment of responsible Government, but their right to absolute freedom from the autocratic rule of the Dogra House.....The immensity of the wrong done to our people by the sale deed of 1846 (which brought Kashmir under Maharaja Gulab Singh) can only be judged by looking into the actual living conditions of the people of Kashmir. It is the depth of our torment that has given strength to our protest."

Too much has been said in favour and disfavour of "Quit Kashmir" slogan raised by Sheikh Abdulla. Some people say that it was the greatest crime on the part of a political

leader to ask the prince to "Quit," while, on the other hand, some people say that "Quit Kashmir" was the wisest path chosen by Abdulla and that it was because of this that he became an all India figure. "Quit Kashmir," however, is still a controversial subject.

Justifying "Quit Kashmir" as being a demand for "responsible Government under the aegis of His Highness" and that it only meant "Quit autocracy," Sheikh Saheb said:—

"The announcement (by Prime Minister Attlee) affected the Indian States as well as the rest of India, and the people of the States felt that just as the people of India as a whole would decide about their future internally and internationally so also they must have the right to determine their own future within the States and in relation to the large framework of a free India. This was not only a logical, reasonable and long standing demand, but also it seemed to be the inevitable consequence of what British Government had stated. All-India States' Peoples' Conference gave clear expression to this demand and looked forward to sharing, on behalf of the people of the States, in fashioning the future in co-operation with others.

"It was clear that the old treaties with the States had to go. They represented something

that had no relation to the modern world or to the India of to-day. They could not be reconciled with the inevitable changes in India and in the States. If this was clear to begin with, it became an accepted fact by the statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation of May 16, 1946. That statement declared that paramountcy would end when the new constitution of free India came into being. It was an inevitable consequence that the old treaties and sanads and other engagements would go the way of paramountcy, and, the British Government being out of the picture a new relationship would have to be negotiated between what is now known as British India and the States. The demand for abrogation of the Amritsar Treaty (of 1846) was, in effect disposed of by this clear decision of the Cabinet Delegation. The constitution set up in the State of Jammu and Kashmir cannot derive from the old source of relationship which was expiring and was bound to end soon. The set up could only rest on the active will of the people of the State conferring on the Head of the State the title and authority drawn from the true and abiding source of sovereignty that is the people.

“The “Quit Kashmir” cry symbolised and gave concrete shape to this demand for the termination of a system of Government which was in process of dissolution all over India. That cry had nothing personal about it.”

Consequently on his return from Delhi Sheikh Abdulla, President of the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference and Vice-president of the All-India States Peoples, Conference delivered a series of speeches in Srinagar about "Quit Kashmir" between May 6 and May 16. On May 16 he directed his followers that all speeches, lectures and meetings should be postponed for a period of one month which he intended to spend in Delhi for consultation with Pandit Nehru and others.

On May 20, Sheikh Abdulla left Srinagar for New Delhi to discuss States' problems with Indian leaders. The same day at 4 P.M. he was arrested at Garhi, about 100 miles from Srinagar on his way to Rawalpindi *en route* to New Delhi. Sheikh was brought to Badami Bagh cantonment, and the same day the Valley of Kashmir was handed over to the Military. From May 21 onwards there was "blood, sweat and tears" in Kashmir. Weaponless Kashmiris—men, women and children offered themselves for arrests and received Dogra bullets in honest contempt. Kashmir Valley was in dangerous excitement. "Men and women were done to death by the Military, women were dishonoured, human beings were made to crawl or hop on one leg along roads and sweep them with their turbans, places of worship were desecrate, and an attempt was made to terrorise our whole people by methods of frigtfulness".

On May 29 Wazir Sarup Chand, Superintendent Kashmir Police on behalf of the State filed a complaint against Sheikh Abdulla in the court of the Sessions Judge Srinagar for the prosecution of Sheikh Abdulla under section 124 (A) of the Ranbir Penal Code, seditious speeches delivered by him on the 13th, 14th, and 16th of May 1946.

On June 3 Sheikh Abdulla's trial began at Badami Bagh cantonment Hospital. The case had to be adjourned till June 11 since Sheikh Sahib wanted to consult lawyers in connection with his defence. On June 11 the case was still adjourned till July on the statement by Sheikh Abdulla's defence counsel Mr. Baldev Sahey that Abdulla's chief legal advisor Pandit Nahru's detention on the way by the State authorities had caused much inconvenience to the defence.

Pandit Nehru's entry into the State had been banned by the State authorities. He was detained at Domel. At his insistence to proceed to Srinagar, Pandit Nehru was injured by a military bayonet. In Srinagar about 1,700 arrests were made. The leaders of the National Conference were arrested and kept in the various jails, and an all round attempt was made to crush the popular movement. Pandit Nehru was called back to Delhi to resume far-more important constitutional talks. Kashmir Day was observed throughout India. At Badami Bagh hearing of the case was resumed on July 22.

Mr. Shanti Dhowan, Barrister of Allahabad also joined defence. Mr. Asaf Ali (India's Ambassador in U.S.A. to-day was the Chief Defence Counsel.

Meanwhile an attempt was made by the State authorities to fabricate 'Abdulla's clique with league'. In this connection "Pioneer" of lucknow in its issue of June 14, gave a disclosure of Abdulla's secret correspondence with Jinnah. The paper gave the following astounding news under a double column heading:—

‘We are both working for ultimate
Muslim Ascendancy in Kashmir’
What Abdulla told Jinnah: A disclosure’

The State authorities, in order to mainm Abdulla's cause won many Indian newspapers to their side by giving them huge sums of money from the so-called 'Secret Fund'. An attempt was also made to win over Pandit Nehru when a deputation consisting of Pt. Shive Narain Fotedar, Col. Sansar Singh and Pt. Shive Nath Nanda was sent to New Delhi. Pandit Nehru, much to their disappointment advised Kashmir people for bigger moves. Later the deputation waited on Sardar Patel and tried to win him with the argument that Abdulla was a first rate communal chief, and that his plan of Kashmir was a communal state, and that the National Conference was not a national body but an organization of the goondas.

Thus State authorities had tried their best to exploit the minorities, but they had failed. Later the State authorities tried to win over the handful of leaguers. This policy continued to the end of Kak regime, and it was the aftermath of this policy that Kashmir was put to the treachery of the free-booters and the Kashmiris had to see the bloody spectre.

On August 3, 1946 Sheikh Abdulla submitted his historical statement in presence of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Mr. Asaf Ali, Mr. Baldev Sahey, and Dewan Chaman Lal. Sheikh Abdulla was jailed under Sec. 124 A, Ranbir Penal Code. He spent 16 months in jail during which period Indian politics underwent gigantic changes.

Immediately after Sheikh Abdulla's trial the Congress Working Committee, in a resolution gave a gentle hint to the State authorities that it would be good of them to invite a delegation of the Congress leaders to carry on friendly talks for a settlement. But the State did not heed to it. The Maharaja openly declared that he wanted no dictation in his internal affairs.

Meanwhile Gulam Mohi-ud-Din, commonly known as the J.P. of Kashmir, started underground work and kept alive the agitation of the Kashmiris to the time when Sheikh Abdulla was finally released. The State formed an Assembly and brought to prominence those who opposed the

National Conference. This was an attempt to bring league element to the forefront.

All along this period Begum Abdulla took a leading part in organising food committees, relief centres etc. It took her some time to adapt herself to the situation, but now she is Sheikh Abdulla's most ardent political follower.

Jai Prakash came to Kashmir to study the situation, and on his return bitterly criticised Kak's reign of terror. His impression about the State was that the Maharaja had been influenced by some persons which made him to act in a manner which was not expected of the impartial Head of the State.

Later the Congress President Acharya J.B. Kripalani came to Kashmir and addressed the Kashmiris for a tough and disciplined move. He told the authorities that Kashmiris were fighting for a peoples' Government under the aegis of the Maharaja on the pattern of Government in England. On May 25, 1947 he met the Maharaja at Jammu and advised him to release the political prisoners who were not accused of violence. The Maharaja donated Rs. 25,000 to Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani for utilizing on charitable purposes. The Maharaja had promised to release the prisoners, but the prisoners were not released because that was not the wish of the Premier.

The next important event in Kashmir in 1947 was Gandhiji's first visit. Gandhiji came to us as a peoples guest. He put aside the invitations of the State. He stayed at 'Khurshid Bagh', Kishori lal Sethi's residence, as guest of the National Conference. The Kashmir premier called on him twice secretly. It is reported that the Premier had tried his best to avoid Gandhi-Maharaja meeting, but he failed. Gandhiji went to Gupkar Palaces and had profound talks with the Maharaja. The rest of his time Gandhiji spent with Begum Abdulla. He held some prayers at Srinagar and then he left us, and on his way to Naohkali crossed Jammu. It was some days before *August 15, 1947*.

August 15 came and India was divided into two dominions. Then came Sardar Patel's assurance to the Princes, and States one after the other joined the Indian Union. Kashmir decided nothing. But it was commonly talked even by authoritative sources that Kak was planning for Independent Kashmir.

Before the transfer of power their Excellencies the Viceroy and Viscountess Mountbatten had paid a private visit to Kashmir in the third week of June. It was commonly rumoured that Kak wanted to make Kashmir an independent dominion of the British Commonwealth so that Britishers could come to Kashmir and live in the Happy Valley. Side by side league Press was creating a lot of propaganda

for the State. No one can say with surety what Kāk wanted to do to Kashmir, but there was really something “mysterious” about his doings!

Freedom day for India did not fare well with Kāk. He was asked to relinquish office on the 11th of August 1947, and the news about his retirement beamed forth happiness from the suppressed hearts. In fact nobody expected it, but it had come about. He had been the Prime Minister of the State since July 30, 1945.

Next came Boundary Commission Award which gave Kashmir a contiguous boundaries with India and Pakistan.

Meanwhile Pakistan created a lot of trouble for Kashmir in the strangulation of supplies. Kashmir faced a great economic crisis. Everybody was eager to know what Kashmir would decide. Along with this the rebel leader of Kashmir Sheikh Mohd. Abdulla was released unconditionally.

Events in Kashmir were moving with great strides, and Ruler of Kashmir had to make a very serious decision. People were waiting for their leader. In his first public address after his release he openly denounced Two Nation Theory and reiterated his faith in Congress idealism. He put ‘Responsible Government as the first demand of

the people and warned the Ruler that any decision taken by him against the wishes of the people would be resisted by the people since the will of the people was supreme in a democratic State.

He addressed his millions of followers again and cleared their minds from the vague notions of Pakistan. He defined freedom as being unity between Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs and pledged to maintain it till end.

Meanwhile the State signed Standstill Agreement with Pakistan. The State had also approached India for such an agreement, and the talks were going on in this connection.

Sheikh Abdulla went to Delhi to meet Pandit Nehru, and other members of the Indian Cabinet.

On his return he found Kashmir in distress. Violent forces were let loose by Pakistan Government to disrupt the State with a view to coercing the Ruler to join Pakistan. Afridis were marching towards Srinagar. Kashmir was in great peril.

Sheikh again took the lead, organized National Militia took charge of the defence of the city and exhibited a calibre worthy of his name. He controlled the panic of the Kashmiris under whose feet death was playing seek and hides. He roused the weaponless Kashmiris to

face the fearful odds. Not to speak of youngsters even the adults left the warmth of their homes and came forward to die in saving Kashmir.

Meanwhile the Maharaja had approached Indian Union for help. His appeal had the people's support, and Kashmir was saved from the inevitable destruction. On October 31, His Highness invited Sheikh Abdulla to form the Interim Government and take charge of the Head of the Administration with power to deal with the emergency.

Sheikh Abdulla was sworn in, in the Prime Minister's room at 11 A. M. on October 31 by the Hon'ble Chief Justice amidst great scenes of rejoicing from the huge crowds assembled in the premises of the State Secretariat. The first popular Premier of Kashmir, then, addressed from the balcony for about an hour the crowds that had swollen to thousands and were waiting there with searching looks and impatient ears.

That was, indeed, the day of the Kashmiris for their struggle of seventeen years had become fruitful this day when Sheikh Saheb *was called to the Durbar*. It was also Sheikh Abdulla's day of greatest triumph.

And thus the rebel leader Abdulla agitated against autocracy for seventeen years, such a long

period of persistent struggle, victory and defeat, admiration and persecution, and finally became the Chief of Kashmir Government.

INVASION OF KASHMIR
(Challenge to Pakistan ?)



NOTE :- THE ARROW MARKS SHOW INFILTRATION BY THE RAIDERS,

CHAPTER V

THE INVASION OF KASHMIR

On the twenty-third of October 1947 life was disappearing from the city of Srinagar. Armed gangs of tribesmen fully equipped with modern weapons supplied to them by the Pakistan Government entered the Muzafferabad district on the 22nd October and very soon over-run the entire area. The first target of raiders was the Nalouchi Gurdawara at Muzafferabad where the gallant Sikhs numbering 1,400 faced the booters manfully. The Sikhs, in order to save their land and the honour of the temples of their Gods fought to the last, but at last had to give way. By noon more raiders joined them and showered the rain of bullets over the weaponless men, women and children of Muzafferabad. The raiders had used Manshera-Muzafferabad road and reached the State territory in motor trucks supplied to them by the N.W.F. Government.

Muzafferabad was completely looted. Hundreds of motor trucks loaded with the looted property were sent back. Men and children were shown the worst type of deaths, old women were killed at the spot, and young girls were raped.

and abducted without any pity or shadow of the sin. At about five in the evening the small town of Muzafferabad was set ablaze. During the night the raiders halted there, but they were constantly shooting in the air to give a hint to the handful of State forces that they should honourably vacate.

During the night they lit a huge fire and sat around it singing in chorus "*Zindabad Pakistan, Zindabad Paskistan!*" Some young ladies and girls had been sent to the tribal areas during the day, and some they had kept along with them as a humour of the night! At intervals a gun was fired and the roar of the gun was followed by a huge congregation of human voices, "*Khan Abdul Qayum Zindabad!*" The gangsters were making merry that night. Another of their slogans which, though they raised louder, could not rise above the invincible mountains on the Domel side was

شیر کشمیر کا سر کاٹے گے - سورا میں عید منائے گے۔

We shall cut Sher-i-Kashmir's head and enjoy
Id in Sowara (Sheikh Saheb's residence).

During the night some people, who had hid themselves in the day, crossed the bridge and ran towards Ghari. People from Domel had already left for Srinagar on foot and in bullock carts. In the way some motor lorries had picked up the refugees and brought them to Srinagar. On the 23rd the sun rose up and saw Muzafferabad in ruin.

On the morning of 23rd, the raiders made their way towards Ghari and Chenari where the first thing that they did was to set fire to various public and private buildings. More State forces under the command of Brigadier Rajendra Singh were dispatched to stem the inroads of the unscrupulous and treacherous people.

Meanwhile the fifth-column had started its activities in the city. Attempts were made to degrade the morale of the people. Motor trucks filled to the top with refugees were rushing into Srinagar, and the whole people now were panicky.

Panic was created by "traitors" in the city who were in alliance with those actually creating the disturbances. Attempts were made to sabotage the Government with a view to dividing its attention to the real centre of trouble thereby giving a free field to the booters to loot Srinagar. The situation on the front was still more tense. It was reported by the State Army commands that ahead was a regular army fully armed with up-to-date weapons and that it was not a raid but a war. Officers and fighting men of Pakistan army were seen by telescopes leading the gangs of tribesmen. All this was reported to His Highness by Brigadier Rajendra Singh.

In the city of Srinagar the dark doom of death awaited 200,000 of human beings—delicate

women, innocent children, new born babes and imbecile adults who had seen of no destructions of war or invasion but had only the memory stringed in their ears of the horrible stories of the invasion of Nadir Shah and the continued raids of Ahmad Shah Abdali, who had also one time oppressed the Kashmiris so much that the Sikh monarch Ranjit Singh himself had to proceed to Kashmir to rescue the Kashmiris from the brutal tyranny. The helpless Kashmiris could run to no place since there was no petrol due to the strangulation of supplies by the Pakistan Government. The hope of regaining life was fleeing from them. They could well anticipate the fate of their homes, wives and children as the memory of the happenings in the Punjab was still fresh in their minds. They had no means to defend themselves since they were not allowed to keep any arms. More horrible news were coming from Ghari and Chenari. Even the commonsense had failed to function. Kashmiris were faced with a serious situation. They could not run, they could not defend themselves, and the only thing they had thought to do was to poison their women and daughters and to welcome the death that was sent to them by God!

By the evening of 23rd Ghari, Chenari and their adjoining areas were besieged by the invaders. Whole of the property, Government and private was looted and sent back in motor trucks. The inhabitants of these places, which included

hundreds of villagers also, were at first deprived of their gold and silver and then shot dead. Beautiful Kashmiri Muslim girls were selected and picked up by their cheeks and placed in the trucks for despatch to the tribal areas and to Pakistan, the holy land! Those of the girls and young women who were not fit were deprived of their ear-rings and shot dead. Rice, wheat, maize from the granaries of the villagers was filled in bags and sent to Pakistan. There after the villages were set ablaze.

It was at this stage that their director's *Pakistani friends* directed them to discriminate between a Sher (Abdulla's follower) and Bakra (the so called leaguer) This was more deadlier for every one in the village being a *Sher*, Kashmiri peasants in hundreds were shot dead. But glory be to the Kashmiris, Abdulla's followers did not disown him even at the point of their death. The crusaders were prepared to set free a man who could only say "*Sher-i-Kashmir Murdabad*" but the valiant Kashmiris preferred the worst types of deaths to such a suggestion only because their hearts revolted against being traitors. Hundreds of the workers of the National Conference made themselves martyrs and kept high the honour of our motherland. Those of the Pakistanees who were leading the invaders tempted these Kashmiris for *this* and *that* privilege in Pakistan and suggested to them that they should disown Abdulla and the

National Conference, and for the safety of their lives and the protection of their property they should forthwith join the *crusade*, which was, according to their intentions, marching towards Srinagar to set up Kingdom of Islam in Kashmir.

How supreb is that heroism which at that hour of peril when through the barell of the gun death be groping, inspires patriotism in the hearts of the Kashmiris who challenge Pakistan? They tell them:-

“*The hal-wala Janda* (National Conference flag) has taken birth in our heart and has been nourished by our blood. It is the emblem of those who have dedicated their lives to break the shackles of servitude. It is the message of our freedom. Go back, leave our country to us, and tell Jinnah and Abdul Qayum that the Kashmiris *will* not be slaves of Pakistan ‘but a free people worthy of freedom’?”

Reason and truth are meaningless for a Fascist, and therefore Kashmiris could not escape death. But their death has become our heritage.

The State forces fought excellantly that day but could not check the influx of the invaders, who were receivng regular reinforcements from behind, and so passed the 23rd of October.

On 24th they made further advance and spread over Uri. This day a communication was received that the invaders are fattening themselves and that they were using machine guns, armoured cars and other modern techniques to overrun the handful of State forces. There was thus left no assured means of defending the City. During the night most of the Punjabis were given petrol and lift upto Jammu. About 200 lorries packed to the full had left Srinagar for Jammu. Government officials, leaving their jobs behind, had also left. The rich had thus managed to save themselves and the poor Kashmiris were left to the free-looters. Perhaps Srinagar was seeing the last signs of life. We were left to curse our own fate, which even did not seem to function at that hour.

Now conjecture who should dare to come forward at that darkest hour when the Monster of Destruction-Loot, Murder, Arson, Abduction-has rung the bugle of its approach and Death is waiting at the door of Kashmiris, to inspire Kashmiri blood and to fill the hearts of the people by his magnetic force? We have been left to meet our end. There is no Government to save us, there are no possibilities to evacuate us, there is nothing but death on all sides groping on us!

Here comes *Sher-i-Kashmir* our beloved

leader, and our guide to captain us against the odds. He speaks to his people from the stage, he asks them to prove Kashmiris by worth. He smiles and the crowds pluck courage, he waves his limbs and the crowds are inspired, and thereby he creates a confident atmosphere in the minds of those who had given up all hopes of life. He prompts up his followers for facing the odds to defend Kashmir, he assures the minorities that communal concord will be maintained at all costs, and that if there is nothing but to die, Muslims shall lie down before their brothers, Hindus and Sikhs, are killed. Thereby he faces the delicate situation like a true leader.

Wild rumours and utter panic held Srinagar in breath. "Kabalis would raze the city to the ground, they would spare no living thing, no, not the young girls, not the mistresses of the households; not the babies at the breasts. *As for Abdulla, death is too light a punishment; the Kabalis are fighting for Pakistan, they would sack Nationals they would roast Abdulla and his colleagues.* They would be friends with him only who raises his cry for Pakistan"—that is what a fifth columnist told me near the Red Square where the National Conference leaders were seen by me organizing the Peace Brigades and the Home Gaurds for the defence of the city.

Meanwhile secret threatenings were given by the fifth-columnists that Kabalis on their entry

into Srinagar would respect no protection; that the multitudes of "Nationals" would be brought together and starved to death in the sight of their countrymen, their friends and their kinsmen; that only way left for saving life was to fight for Pakistan in Kashmir. These were no idle threats. Parties of men were seen in all directions of the city spreading these wild rumours. A very serious situation was created by the fifth columnists to derrange communal peace in the city. At night when parties of Sikh evacuees reached Amira-kadal Chowk, a great communal clash was averted by the tact and resourcefulness of the leaders of the National Conference who came out of their houses, all of a sudden, and brought the situation under control and nullified the mischievous efforts of the fifth-columnists. This was an attempt to disrupt the city so to give an open field to the booters. The National Conference High Command had to tackle a difficult situation, indeed, that night. For the whole night Sheikh Abdulla and his colleagues kept vigils and studied the situation. Instant after instant refugees in huge numbers were pouring in Srinagar, and the foe was marching towards the city with unabated pace. During the night hundreds of non-Kashmiris fled towards Jammu in cars and motors lorries, and the Kashmiris incapable of bearing arms were left behind, as if Kashmir was meant for the Kashmiris only. It was indeed a piteous sight!

For some time Sheikh marked it. The Government had failed and nothing was thought for the protection of the Kashmiris. Sheikh was in a fix. He waited for some time more, but then the call of Kashmir disturbed his balance. He found his body full of vigour, and he sent out his call to his countrymen.

By dawn every worker of the National Conference was near Palladium which was now made the Operational Quarters, and the Conference took charge of the defence of the city. An order was immediately put forth that no Kashmiri should utter the word surrender or death, but should come forward to shed his blood for the defence of Kashmir, his place of birth. At Sheikh's call thousands of Kashmiris gathered together and offered their lives for the service of their motherland.

On this day the significant figure in the humming crowds was the underground leader Gulam Mohi-ud-din, called "*Bulbul-i-Kashmir*". He had come out this morning after being underground for sixteen months. A very handsome Kashmiri, "*Bulbul-i-Kashmir*" has everything interesting about him. His pace is quick but his thought is deep. He was seen merging from various directions, as if on this day he was everywhere !

National Conference workers were pouring

in minute after minute and the crowds near Palladium Chowk were swelling into thousands. These Volunteers were organised and posted to various positions in the city. Searches were conducted. Guns, bullets, daggers and other amunition were recovered from the out-going non-Kashmiris.

By this time noon was advancing; and the confusion of the city was becoming frightful. By noon also many of the volunteers were seen carrying guns and hurrying to different parts of the city. This was for the first time that a National Conference volunteer had taken up a gun. These volunteers were directed to stop Kashmiris from leaving their homes.

Bakhshi Gulam Mohamad took charge of internal security and transport, while the Peace Brigades were kept under the charge of Gulam Mohi-ud-din. Everything was organized within two hours. More guns were supplied to the volunteers and a handful of armed men was kept ready for internal defence.

By four in the evening Sheikh Abdulla addressed the swelling crowds and told them that it was in the interests of all the communities in the State to unite as one body in repelling the attacks of mischievous elements from outside. Mutual distrust and suspicion, he added, among the people of the State, would only lead to clashes which

must deviate attention from the task of repelling the invaders. He wanted the people to take a lesson from the happenings in Eastern and Western Punjab where Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs suffered untold miseries. He called for a special responsibility on the part of the majorities in the matter. He advised them to assure full protection to the minorities so that the majority community could set up an example of communal peace, which was most essentially needed at that hour. It was here that he made a mention of what had passed between the Maharaja and Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Jinnah, he said, had asked the Maharaja to join Pakistan and had assured him of no interference in his internal matters, which showed that Mr. Jinnah did not support Kashmiris fight for freedom that they had been fighting for the last seventeen years without any slackening, whatsoever. Regarding the attitude of the Government of India, Sheikh Abdulla openly declared that that Government were not, at all, prepared to accept the accession of Kashmir unless the Maharaja had ceded over sovereignty to the people, whose will is supreme in the democratic Government of India. He proved how India Government were keen about helping the Kashmiris on their way to progress and prosperity. Here the crowds along with their slogans, raised the slogans

‘Pandit Nehru Zindabad ! پندت نہرو زندہ باد۔

‘Mahatma Gandhi Zindabad ! مہاتما گاندھی زندہ باد

‘Azad Hindustan Zindbad ! آزاد ہندوستان زندہ باد

and called '*Fie and Shame !*' to Pakistan.

By evening that day the whole city of Srinagar was handed over to the 'Home Gaurds.' *Halqa* Committees were formed in the mohollas, and a member from each household was called for duty. The Volunteers were directed by the High Command to do their utmost to raise the morale of people. The State Rice Grannary, the State Treasury, and other such institutions were gaurded by the Home Gaurds. Conditions in Srinagar were, thus, considerably improved.

* Meanwhile a handful of gallant Dogras had stopped the foe near Uri, but the situation at the front was very serious. Brigadier Rajendra Singh fought so gallantly, and every Dogra soldier fought like his general, but a handful of people had to face a big army, they could not go ahead. Sometime after even the general was killed, and at the front there were left a few Gurkha soldiers who fought to the last man and held the foe there.

At this stage, His Highness' Government sent to the Indian Union Government a request for assistance and signified their desire to accede to the Indian Union. The Indian Union accepted the accession of the State provisionally subject to the condition that with the restoration of law and order in the State and expulsion of the invaders,

the question of State's accession would be finally settled by ascertaining the will of the people.*

After stiff resistance even the Gurkha soldiers having harrassed the foe for two complete days, fell down one after another. Their souls left their bodies with a lament and a yearning that Srinagar was in great danger. The spirits that accompanied their souls to heaven cursed Jinnah and Pakistan for this wanton destruction of flesh and material!

For the first time in history a *dawn-to-dusk* aerial service was conducted between Delhi and Srinagar to despatch thousands of Indian Troops from the 27th of October onwards. So tense was the situation in Srinagar that nobody could be sure whether the *raid* would come first or the *aid*. But the aid reached first.

For the internal defence of the city Peace Brigades had started work in Srinagar. Groups of volunteers patrolled the lanes and the streets at night to guard against the activities of fifth columnists. They, thus, infused among the public a new spirit of resistance. The Peace Brigades were welcome everywhere since their presence was a guarantee that the city will not give way to panic.

The armed section of the Brigade, called the National Militia, was deputed by Ghulam

* See Appendix A.

Mohi-ud-Din to help the Police and the Military in maintaining order. Some of them were despatched to the front where these brave Kashmiris proved themselves as worthy soldiers in a worthy cause.

Sher-i-Kashmir, having entrusted the work to the National Conference flew to Delhi to tell India what a misfortune had come upon us! In his call to India to **Defend Kashmir**, our leader said:—

“Our beloved and beautiful home land, Kashmir, is in a dire peril. In this extremity it is the duty of every Kashmiri, whether Muslim or Hindu or Sikh to defend it to the utmost. Those who are responsible for its defence have failed us and the responsibility, therefore falls on the people of Kashmir. They are *determined* to fight the invaders and raiders who have come to despoil the country and to compel our people to function in accordance with the will of others. That is a new kind of slavery which we will resist to the utmost. I am going back to Kashmir *to lead this resistance of the people to the invaders.*

“The Kashmir National Conference has stood for Responsible Government in the State under the aegis of His Highness the Maharaja. We have fought for our freedom, suffered for it, and we had hoped that in the new order we would achieve our objective. It was our firm conviction

that before any other step could be taken the question of Responsible Government must be settled. Even the question of accession to India or Pakistan or any settlement about the future must, we have stated, follow these vital constitutional changes within the State.

“Economically, Kashmir depends for its market much more on India than on Pakistan.”

“Politically, it was felt that India was a much more progressive State than Pakistan, and Kashmir would have far greater scope for free development according to its own genius if she was allied to India.

“However, no decision was made or could be made because most of the leaders of the National Conference were in prison and could not meet.

“When I came out of prison four weeks ago I wanted some time to consider the situation and consult my colleagues. During my incarceration vital changes had taken place in India and a new situation had arise. Much had happened that had brought disaster and misery to millions of people. It became necessary for us, therefore, to take stock of the situation most carefully and

decide in a way that would be advantageous to Kashmir and in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the people of Kashmir. I advised my people that the question of accession should, therefore, not be decided immediately and that the first step should be a constitutional change on the basis of Responsible Government. After that the future relations of Kashmir with India and Pakistan might be determined.

“But events have moved fast soon after my release I heard of preparations along western boundaries of Kashmir for some kind of an invasion or raid. Armed people infiltrated.

A positive proof of the fact that the struggle in Kashmir had been instigated by the agents of the Muslim League and was being strongly helped by the Pakistan Government was discovered from possession of certain Muslims who under the ‘pretext’ of safety desired to go temporarily to Pakistan. As early as 1945 and 1946, a conspiracy seems to have been hatched for the establishment of a Muslim State by the Muslim League in Jammu and Kashmir. A number of these detailed plans for providing residences for the Muslim League leaders and for other activities in the State when it would come under the domination of the Muslim League have been discovered. These plans are authentic, bear proper seals and names and details in them clearly show that a plot was hatched against His Highness and his Government by the Muslim League agents in London, and these plans were subsequently sent to India and were found in possession of certain Muslim Government servants of the State. One

of these was a design of a residence named '**Masha-Allah**', apparently for Mr. Jinnah. It consists of 6 sheets. There is a coloured prospective design and a chart of C. S. J. calculations as well. The plan has been drawn by Haji Roshan Din of Bhopal according to specifications given by Norman F. Kingham of Wellesy Cheshire (England). This evidence conclusively proves that the designs of the Muslim League against Kashmir were hatched as early as year 1945 and the act of aggression of October 1947 was the culminating point of those designs.

"Armed people infiltrated into the State territory and in many places there were armed conflicts. I came to Delhi to preside over the Standing Committee of the States Peoples' Conference. The very day I returned to Srinagar, news came that a large party of armed and well-equipped raiders travelling on motor lorries had entered Kashmir via Abbottabad Road near Muzafferabad.

"These raiders created havoc and looted Muzafferabad and other places (Destruction of Muzafferabad already mentioned). They marched towards Srinagar. It was obvious that this raid had been carefully prepared and every kind of help had been given to it in the shape of arms, equipment and motor transport. It was obvious also that this invasion was meant to coerce and compel the people of Kashmir to act in a particular way, namely to accede to Pakistan.

How they coerced Kashmiris see pages 93 & 94

That it was Pakistan's planned invasion of Kashmir is proved by the statements of some of the eye-witnesses who watched the preparations made in the Frontier and Western Punjab, and later took part in the invasion.

Abdul Haq S/o Mr Abdul Aziz Khan, once Inspector of Schools at Peshawar, and son-in-law of Raja Feroz Khan, another Inspector of the Frontier Police stated:—

" I left Pindi for Kashmir on November 3, along with another 100 men of my illaqa. Before leaving Pindi there was intense propaganda by certain Moulvi (Moulvi Yusaf Shah of Srinagar, apparently) that Hindus and Dogras were inflicting atrocities on the Muslims of the State. Moulvi Shabir Hussain of Deo Band also appealed on the wireless and gave '*Fatwa*' that it was the duty of every Muslim to go to Kashmir.....We were given free lift in Public Transport which were hired by the Government Officials. The convoy of which I was a member halted at Rawla Camp at Pindi. There were at this camp about 600 to 700 Pathans and Punjabis. The Military and Additional Police were in plain clothes. Arms were distributed to us.....At Kohala each of us was carrying 96 rounds of ammunition. At Uri there was also a big camp of 4 to 5 thousand Pathans, Afridis, Mahsuds and Mohamands as well as the Additional Police and Military in plain clothes. At Baramulla, according to my estimation, the strength was 10,000. There was regular service between Baramulla, Pindi and Abbottabad. There were also wireless sets and they were in communication with their High Commands and their parties operating in Kashmir Valley... On November 6, I visited Mathial along with few others and there we were told by villagers that the Pathans committed rape and killed, and looted valuables and that they were not maltreated by Sikhs, but men from Pakistan territory. I was shocked to learn that, as the inhabitants

of that Village were all Muslims with tears in their eyes. They begged us to spare them. This broke my heart. I returned to Baramulla and gave my villagers the above information. So everyone of us felt greatly ashamed of our conduct and intention. We wanted to go back, but we were refused conveyance for our return journey, and told that Srinagar would be conquered that night. They forced us and marched us towards Srinagar in 30 vehicles. On 7th morning we were ordered to occupy Zainakot village. When we visited the village, there also people repeated the same story of the atrocities committed by the Muslims, especially the Pathans."

From the statements given by various prisoners, we gather the following informations about the preparations of Pakistan for an invasion on Kashmir:—

1. Certain Pirs headed by Pir of Manki were in-charge of inciting the Muslims.

2. A great *Lashkar* was created by Abdul Qayum Khan to invade Kashmir. Tribesmen were recruited in the *Lashkar* and sent in vehicles to Abbottabad, where the organizers furnished them with directives.

3. The invaders had anti-air-craft guns, tommy guns, bren guns, sten guns, and wireless sets supplied by the Military Headquarters at Rawalpindi. Karachi, Peshawar, Rawalpindi and Abbottabad were, thus, connected by these sets.

4. The 'Jahad' against the Kashmiris had the blessings of Sir George Gunningham, Abdul Qayum Khan, K. B Sh. Mahboobali, K B Kuli Khan, Pir of Manki and Abdul Rab Nishtar

5. Everyday communications were sent to Karachi, Peshawar and Abbottabad to acquaint Jinnah, Abdul Qayum and Rab Nishtar with the situation.

6. Patients were sent for treatment to Abbottabad and Mansehra Hospitals.

7. On October 17, the Frontier Government ordered all lorries in Kashmir to be present in Hazara. 400 lorries were, then, ready to carry the *Lashkar* to Muzzafferabad.

8. Important military officials of the *Lashkar* included Mr. Dunean, the Assistant Commissioner at Tank, Rana Farzand Ali Khan, Superintendent Additional Police and the Nawab of Tank and Khudil Khan of Hisarpur.

Some of the officials of Pakistan Army, who were taken as prisoners were ready to make their statements before Jinnah and Cunningham and it was their wish that their statements be sent to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru so that he could tell Jinnah not to make Muslims fight against Muslims because there was no fight between Muslims and Hindus ever in Kashmir.

Some boxes belonging to the D.I.G. Additional Police, Kohat were recovered from Mirdad Khan F.C. of Police Station Rawalpandi, and Sher Afzal Khan of Hazara. These boxes contained most dangerous ammunitions.

“Every Kashmiri was shocked by this raid and the ruin in the trail of this raid. Every Kashmiri resented this compulsion on his will. The question of accession to India or Pakistan became a secondary issue and the first duty of every Kashmiri was to defend his motherland against the intruder. They refused to accede to Pakistan in this way.

"I came to Delhi for a few hours to consult my colleagues here, and to explain the present critical position in Kashmir to the members of the Government of India. I asked them, on behalf of the people, for help in resisting this brutal raid. The Maharaja's Government had also made this request to the Government of India. I am now going back to my people in Kashmir to stand shoulder to shoulder with them in defending our heritage and to share with them the perils and sorrows that may be in store.

"I know the spirit of my people, and I am sure that we shall triumph in the end. I appeal to all lovers of freedom in India or Pakistan to stand by the people of Kashmir in this hour of trial, and to denounce the raiders, who have come to bring sorrow and disaster to our country".

Even before the military invasion, Pakistan Government were carrying on economic invasion on Kashmir. About a lac of Muslim refugees were afforded safe passage through the State territory from Pathankot to Sialkot. In return for that, some 180 Kashmiris, who were being conveyed from Rawalpindi to Kohala, on the way to Kashmir at the request of the Maharaja, were killed in the way. The State's supplies, of essential commodities had been held up at Rawalpindi. The Lahore Currency Office had refused to make remittances.

The Imperial Bank Lahore was disabled from trying to meet its obligations to the State. Motor vehicles registered in the State had been held up in Rawalpindi, and the railway traffic between Sialkot and Jammu had been discontinued. People with fire-arms were infiltrated into Poonch and other parts. The Pakistan Radio was conducted a war of words against the State. Thus the Pakistan Government were fulfilling the terms of Standstill Agreement ?

With the arrival of Indian Troops on the morning of 27th October, the situation took a sudden turn. The confidence of people was restored back, and they became more determined to face the situation heroically.

The National Conference mobilised its full strength for the defence of the city and the adjoining districts. Batches of Volunteers were deputed to different places to preserve peace and to allay panic in the valley. Indian troops were directly sent to the front from the Aerodrome, and the National Conference took the entire responsibility upon itself, and helped the troops to reach the front in motor lorries and cars which were placed at the disposal of the Conference by their owners.

Meanwhile the situation at the front had worsened. The handful of Dogra soldiers and Gurkhas had faced armoured cars, cannons, hand

bombs, bullets, machine guns like true soldiers upto the time their last man fell. The soldiers had stood firm at the front even after their General Brigadier Rajendra Singh was killed. But it was really too much for them to face the invasion of a big army equipped with most deadliest of the weapons ever used to shed human blood! The foe tried his best to over-run these handful of Dogra soldiers, but they failed in marching an inch ahead. Our brave soldiers stopped the foe there, till Indian Troops reached the front. Our soldiers have thus left a record of their bravery, which is unparalleled in history. Bravo! the Dogras.!

Without making any positions or examining the situation, Indian Troops had to take the command in hand. They were unacquainted with the geography and strategical situation of these areas, but they fought against the odds like true soldiers of India.

Meanwhile the '*Lashkar* of Pakistan' had captured Baramulla, and committed the worst acts of terrorism and tyranny on innocent people. A small army of the most fiercest kinds of Pathans was put in charge of loot in Baramulla, while 30 vehicles loaded with Afridis, Pakistan Army soldiers, and Masuds were despatched to Srinagar.

The Pathans entered the houses of the inhabitants. Wherever the door did not open of its own accord, a cannon was fired to crack it. Inside the house they first addressed the males with the words "*Zar Bideh*" (Give us gold). If a man shed tears and said, "I have nothing", he was shot dead at the spot. Those who offered currency notes, ornaments and the keys were spared and placed aside. Male children were killed at the spot, and female children above the age of ten were sent to the Headquarters.

Babies were snatched from the laps of their mothers and killed with the bayonet of "Pakistani" rifles. The currency notes, thus collected, were handed over to a man who, according to an eye-witness, was an official of the Government of Pakistan and belonged to Ludhiana.

Next the Pathans turned towards women, and with the remarks "*Tum Acha Hai*" (You are good) picked up the good looking young ladies. Those of the ladies selected by them were not touched, but those that were considered unfit were deprived of their ornaments, rings etc. If a lady had some difficulty in taking out her ring, her finger was cut by the dagger so to let out the ring easily. The selected girls—white complexioned—were raped at the spot and then sent to the camp. These women were sent back to Pakistan in the

afternoon in motor trucks. Boxes filled with ornaments and gold were also sent back. The number of these abducted girls is reported to be about 900.

The Pathans did not spare the Sikhs. They picked them up with the words '*Da Kafir*'! Daggers were thrust into the eyes of human skull, and it served as a fun for the Pathans to see the blood streams rush out. Skulls were seen on the road, and men, women and children were massacred like ants. Thus the Pathans completed their assigned work of loot and murder.

In the afternoon the General of Pakistan Army entertained the *Lashkar* to a huge feast for the preparation of which 1,000 male sheep, and 500 kharwars (96 seer each) of the finest of Kashmiri rice were used.

Another party of the *Lashkar* consisting of Punjabi Muslims, then, moved about in the city and forced people to become Mussalmans. Those who cited *Kalma* and took beef were spared, while those who hesitated were made targets of guns. Most of the people from the minority communities, were thus subjected to forced conversion.

Afridis and Kabalis constituted the most barbarous types of men. This party reached Baramulla back from Srinagar with the news that

resistance was stiff ahead. This party marauded Baramulla and adjoining areas in the afternoon and dispensed same treatment to Hindus and Muslims, Sikhs being completely exterminated by the Pathans. They violated and abducted women, mostly the Kashmiri Muslim since they "hated to touch cowards" belonging to other community. Perhaps they hate to see children for that is why they massacred them at the very sight. They looted everything and everyone. They even dishonoured the holy *Quran*. They were so mad with passions that they could not discriminate between God and devil. They converted mosques into brothels for their own gratification. Women, who went under their control are said to have stopped their respiratory systems so to take out breath from their hearts, and they have died this death since they were left with no other means to end themselves.

Thereafter fire was set to the Government buildings, and this fire very soon spread over whole of Baramulla and smouldered everything to ashes.

Those of the Kashmiris who had preferred conversion to death had, meanwhile, assesmbled at a place, the so-called refugee camp. At about 6-30 P.M. some thirty armed Pathans came to them and picked the women from the terror-stricken assembly. These women, their men thought, were gone for ever; but in the morning they were brought back again. The refugees were given maize flour and

asked to prepare food for themselves. The next morning sun rose up again, and saw Pattan and Baramulla nothing more than a heap of smoking ruins. The whole area was free looted by filthy hands of the soldiers of Pakistan.

The situation in the capital had taken a different turn. The Maharaja had invited Sheikh Abdulla to form the Interim Government to deal with the emergency, as had been the understanding between His Highness and the Government of India.

Sheikh Abdulla was sworn in as the Head of Administration on the 31st of October amid scenes of great rejoicing from the people of Kashmir. The leader of the Kashmiris had undertaken the whole burden upon his shoulders, and this was received everywhere with warm welcome. People throughout the State were eager for his messages, and directives.

He sent them the following message:—
 “To all our countrymen, in every part of the State, I send greetings on this great and solemn occasion. We are now free, and are determined that this freedom shall endure and grow richer in content and be shared by all the people. In the face of the present grave emergency, and while the full picture of freedom is not before them, I invite all friends to down their differences and

discussions of detail, and forge still stronger the sanctions of a whole people's will, which must prevail sooner than many of us expect. The power has not come to me, but even to the humblest of my countrymen, and will be used for all of them so that all exploitation of man by man and injustice and nepotism shall cease.

“To the members of the National Conference, who have toiled and suffered these 17 years, I offer thanks and continued comradeship in the great tasks that lie ahead in building up the **New Kashmir** of our dreams. I also congratulate the Maharaja Bahadur on his patriotic choice, made not a day too soon, of sharing all power with the people rather than accept the overlordship of another and keep all power to himself. To all those who may have differed from us I say – “We are brothers of the same motherland. Come, let us be friends not enemies. We must not be enemies. Let us forget the past and forgive each other, and resolve all differences peacefully like brothers. There is no other way. All these years we fought for freedom which is ours to-day, and not for accession which shall be determined by the free choice of the people of this country”. But freedom never comes without bringing us its own responsibilities, its trails and trials. We shall, every one of us, face them manfully as behoves free men; and I call upon all my countrymen to help us at this moment of

difficulty and do all they can to resist and hurl back the invader who, by his wanton aggression, and ruthless acts of arson, murder and loot, has branded himself as a marauder and an enemy of mankind and our homeland.

“To all lovers of freedom in India and Pakistan, I send my greetings also. We want their good wishes and help now to enable us to consolidate our freedom, and drive out from our homeland the wanton aggressor who by his invasion has created this grave national emergency for us and precipitated the issue of accession by the Maharaja Bahadur so that timely help could come to the State from the Government of India. On behalf of all my colleagues and countrymen, I offer my thanks to them for this help and congratulate them on the generous and democratic attitude they have shown, which I wish to make known to all the world and particularly to the people and Government of Pakistan. The stipulation for the final acceptance of the Instrument of Accession is, that when the aggressor is driven out, peace again prevails, and people of our country are really free, they will be given an opportunity to register their choice in the matter of accession or independence, freely and without duress from anybody in or outside the State. Freedom before accession has been both our watchword and policy, and we still stand by it. What form this referendum will take and under what conditions

it will be held, can be decided later. For, the course of action adopted by the invader is aimed at coercing us, which cannot be accepted since it is dishonourable. This we must and will resist to the last man and to the last ounce of our energy. I, therefore, request Mr. Jinnah to accept the democratic principle of the sovereignty of people of our State, including, as it does, 78 per cent Muslims, whose free and unhampered choice must count in the matter of final accession. I request him to use his influence and power to withdraw the invader. *I am ready to come to Karachi to meet him, should he so desire.*

“To the public servants I say, ‘I expect each one of you to do your duty by the people, and you have nothing to fear so long you do it honestly, fearlessly and with loyalty to the country. We must keep the civil administration going even under the stress of these difficult days.

“In conclusion I wish it to be known to all people, both within and without the State, that we are determined to save our homeland from the destruction and devastation the marauder is trailing behind him, and shall bend all our energies towards that end.

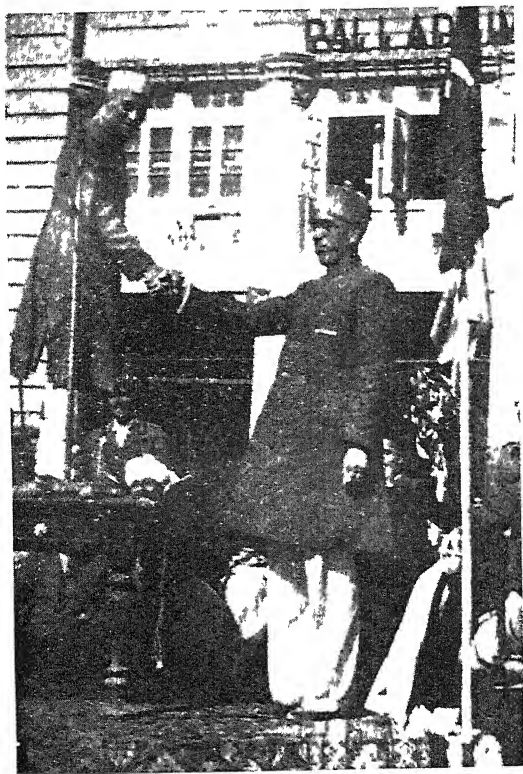
“To all those of our countrymen, who are behind the enemy lines to-day and suffer extreme humiliation and misery, and to them also that have

lost their kith and kin, and whose property has been looted and destroyed, I bring a word of cheer and give a solemn assurance that every inch of our country will be cleared of the marauder, and as soon as conditions permit, all of them will be rehabilitated.

“Come then, *to the glorious task of hurling back the marauder*, who shall not pass, and to the building up of **New Kashmir**; and let us all unite in the face of common danger and drown all differences.”

This historical occasion had its due effect on the heart of every Kashmiri. With the assumption of office by Sheikh Abdulla, the morale of the people improved. The Peace Brigades consisting of 10,000 young Kashmiris got fervent and did excellent work in Srinagar and the districts. Halqa Committees were now fully organized. They kept watch in their respective Mohallas, moved about the lanes and kept vigils against the activities of fifth columnists throughout the night. The National Militia, the armed section of the Brigade, was deputed for training on military lines.

Having failed to resist the offensive, the cowardly raiders, instead of coming face to face with the Army, had put on Kashmiri clothes and gone into the villages where by firing a few shots



KASHMIR ALLIED TO INDIA

No Room For Two Nation Theory

they would create panic to enable themselves to loot the poor peasants. This was coward game played by the invaders since it would be hard to discriminate between an invader and a Kashmiri. The National Militia did excellent work in this field. They fought against the enemy, killing ten of them for of their own because they felt that they *had* to save their motherland. Our soldiers (نیشنل سپاہی) arrested many Afridis at different places and brought these ugly persons to 'Red Chowk'. These people were shown to the public who said that the Afridis should be roasted in an extremely heated oil—really the Afridis had taken out all compassion from the hearts of the Kashmiris then !

On the 31st of October, the same day Sheikh Abdulla took charge of Administration, the butchering rioters were machine-gunned from air. They suffered heavy casualties and their strength was thus considerably broken. On the 2nd of November they were dispossessed of much of their equipment by successful rear action from air. Their trucks were rendered useless, and their lines penetrated. On the 3rd heavy casualties were inflicted on the raiders by combined action from air and land, and much of their equipment was destroyed. A large number of raiders was taken prisoners at this stage of the siege.

By now Indian Army officers of Jak Division

(Division sent from India to Jammu and Kashmir) had received enough of reinforcement by air. Mopping-up operations were consequently started on both sides of Jhelum Valley Road, where some of the raiders had penetrated with a view to creating panic and causing confusion.

Indian Troops were also sent to help the State troops in Jammu Province, where the trouble had started earlier affecting Poonch and Mirpur and the bordering villages. Thus the raiders met with stiff resistance everywhere. Certain high officers of the Pakistan Army were seen among the raiders in both the Provinces leading the offensives.

On the 4th of November, the National Conference leaders, and workers and men of the National Guards had to tackle a very difficult situation when multitudes of refugees from the villages dropped incessantly into Srinagar. The raiders had spread themselves throughout the Western part of the city, in Bandipore and had come even up to Ganderbal. The poor peasants were being pitilessly looted and villages, one after the other, were razed to the ground. The National Militia squads were immediately sent to the villages to fight the invaders.

This technique of the invaders caused great anxiety in the heart of everyone since it was a

deliberate plan to besiege Srinagar on all sides. Along the main front raiders had come to the North-West and South-West of the city. This created a very delicate situation, and brought back panic among the people since the foe was at a door distance only.

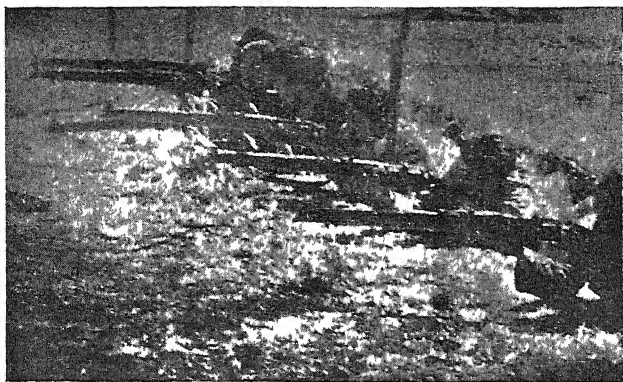
The intensity of the situation was soon averted when, all of a sudden, a portion of the land convoy of armoured cars and light artillery from the Indian Union, having entered the State through the Pathankot route, reached Srinagar and passed through Amirakadal on their way to the front. Near the Red Chowk, swelling crowds cheered the soldiers with their slogans "Hindustan Zindabad!" The soldiers in return smiled, and from their smiles and frisk countenances—through which they were emitting challenges to the Fascism of Pakistan—people plucked courage and recaptured hope. More reinforcements by land and air were pouring in. Attachments from National Militia were sent to take positions in the Parade Ground, Ganderbal, and Harwan. Several other places on the outskirts of Srinagar were patrolled by police officers and the National Home Guards. In this way the city was gaurded on all the sides.

By evening the same day raiders were pushed back further from Srinagar, and Sangrama was recovered. Air-strafting was conducted in the Badgam area, where it caused total anahilation

of the raiders, who had infiltrated the area in large numbers. Along the main front mopping-up operations had been continued and heavy losses were inflicted on the raiders along the road between Kohala and Baramulla. Troops were stationed at all strategic points connecting the city with the front.

The National Militia did excellent work in Ganderbal, Bhima, Tulamula, Lar, and Nunar, which they cleared of the raiders. Property looted in Tulamula and Ludawan was recovered by the Guards, and the raiders were pushed back beyond Safapora.

The Hon'ble Defence Minister and the Hon'ble Home Minister of the Government of India flew to Srinagar this day on a short visit, and after making an aerial survey of the front, met Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla, the Head of the Administration at the aerodrome. During the night of the 5/6 November, gun and rifle shots were heard in the city. The firing was part of the operations against the raiders, who had spread to the North-West and South-West of the city. These activities were intensified after 9 P.M. and were continued till dawn, when air operations were restored. Battalions of invaders had infiltrated on the sides of the Sumbal-Safapora and Gulmarg-



NATIONAL MILITIA IN ACTION AT THE FRONT

Bravo! You Have Harrassed The Foe!

One day, all of a sudden, death—meaning thunders of cannons challenged our right to exist as human beings! We were encircled by barbarous hordes from Pakistan. Would we tolerate it? .. Thus Sheikh's influence ignited the flaming patriotism of Kashmir . and we dealt them... Here are the soldiers of Kashmir . one and all sworn unto death to rebuild the heaven of Kashmir. RAINA.

Badgam area also Mopping-up operations were continued in these areas.

In Jammu Province Mirpur and Kotli were surrounded by furious armed mobs, Rawalkot and Bagh in Poonch were besieged, and in Gilgit enemy had attacked Janglot.

Intensive air operations were carried out in the farther out skirts of Srinagar throughout the day of November 6, and the night. Our National Guards had shown great acts of gallantry in resisting the attempts of the raiders to overrun villages. Raiders, who were treacherously hiding themselves in small pockets in a desperate bid to escape chastisement, were discovered by the Home Gaurds and taken as prisoners.

The 8th of November turned the corner. In the afternoon Baramulla was recovered, and it marked a decisive phase in the operations of the ground and air forces against the raiders. Thousands of raiders were killed, while others took to their heels towards Uri, leaving every thing behind, even the cooked meals. The dead bodies included many soldiers and officers of Baluch Regiment of Pakistan Army, besides many persons from Frontier Additional Police. Arms and ammunition and other military equipment were seized from the raiders, thousands of

gallons of petrol, and 200 bags of rice and atta were also recovered.

Meanwhile groups of raiders, who had infiltrated into small pockets towards Gulmarg-Badgam and Sopore-Sumbal sides, had caused great havoc there. Villages were looted, and then set ablaze. These groups were captured or wiped out. After their main base at Baramulla was destroyed, the remnants were routed. The raiders were chased out beyond Uri, and the pockets from Baramulla onwards were gradually being cleared of them.

We got back Baramulla, not that old beautiful town but a heap of scattered ruins. The same time Sheikh Abdulla sent a message of comfort to the people of the place assuring them of his sympathy, and congratulating them on their bold stand against the raiders. The Head of the Administration promised general relief to those who were bereaved or had suffered otherwise at the hands of the raiders. Many of the Government officials, Wazir-Wazarat and others, who were in league with Pakistan and had supported their cause, were arrested at the spot and sent up to the National Conference Headquarters at the Red Square. This work was done by the National Guards. In the late afternoon His Highness sent his congratulations to Sheikh Abdulla and the people of Kashmir on this signal victory and expressed the hope that the recovery

of Baramulla would be followed by further successes.

And so with the recovery of Baramulla ended the great anxiety of people who had been thrown in a different atmosphere during two weeks of panic and suspense. The victory of Baramulla was celebrated throughout in a spirit of sober satisfaction. Shops were opened in Baramulla town and civil administration had been restored in the district. Adequate medical relief for the sufferers was despatched from Srinagar.

The operations against the raiders were intensified still further, and they were being flung back at a rapid rate. The staff of the Mohara Power House was set to work on November 10. More arms and ammunition were seized from the raiders. The isolated groups were surrendering successively.

By evening that day Sheikh Abdulla had received numerous telegrams from all over India, expressing solicitude for the welfare of Kashmiris and offering them help. Sardar Baldev Singh, Defence Member of the Government of India came to Srinagar, once again, by air on a short visit to study the situation at the front.

With the siege of Baramulla will ever be remembered the name of **Shahid Sherwani** (Sherwani, the martyr) He was a worker of the National Conference and an ardent follower of Sheikh Abdulla. He fought to the end for a noble cause of a noble people. Up to the end he helped refugees and gave his own life for their safety. But the Pakistanees did not spare him. As his punishment for being a national, he was shown most cruel type of death. He was made to stand erect. A light iron rod was hammered in to crack his brow, his nose was then cut, but still he cried, '*Sher-i Kashmir Zindabad!*', and then to take out the last breath from him, 14 bullets were made to pass his chest simultaneously. Such a cruel death through his own brothers—Muslims—for does not Jinnah proclaim that Pakistan is made for the safeguard of Muslims?

O Shahid Sherwani, you are bewitching a whole nation! The thought of you is a strong inspiration, But pray rest assured in your grave, your death shall be avenged by the Kashmiris even to the last soul! Millions shall be laid down for a single drop of your blood—this is the oath of Kashmiris,

Sheikh Abdulla sent the following message to the people of India for their sympathy and the succour sent:—

“To-day when we have retaken the town of Baramulla, and the enemy is in a disorderly retreat, I take the opportunity to

render my thanks on behalf of my people to our allies in India. A few days ago, the fate of Kashmir was hanging by a thread, and we owe it to the succour that we have received from fellow countrymen in India that we feel confident that we are again the masters of our own land. The Government of Indian Union lost no time in providing us with military aid. We are grateful to them. But the sympathy that the man in the street in India has shown to us, and the appreciation with which our cause has been viewed throughout the length and breadth of Indian Dominion, has been of such great value to us that even though isolated, we have felt ourselves to be the part of a whole people fighting for freedom. I have received thousands of telegrams all over India offering help and good cheer. I have cherished these messages of friendship in the days of crisis, that have fortunately passed. I have nothing more to say at present except that *we in Kashmir will prove worthy of friendship shown to us by the people and Government of India.*

Greater than all the credit goes to the officers and soldiers of Indian Army, who, though unacquainted with the place and unaccustomed to the climate of Kashmir, fought so gallantly and harrassed the foe at every place, and hurled

back the marauding enemy from Kashmir to the borders, where they are still pursuing them. Sheikh Abdulla sent the following letter of thanks to General Kulwant Singh, Officer Commanding Indian Troops in Kashmir, on the re-capture of Baramulla.

“Let me congratulate you on the signal success which you have achieved by capturing Baramulla. I am sure with the intelligence and courage which you are exhibiting in the task of turning out the invader, we shall soon be masters of the situation.

“Will you kindly convey my thanks to Wing Commander Mehr Singh, whose aerial support has been of great help in routing the enemy ? I am also grateful to Brigadier Sen for the wonderful work he has done.

“I shall certainly take an opportunity of thanking all your officers individually soon. And for the valour which the ordinary soldier under your command has shown, the people of Kashmir have nothing but unstinted praise”

PANDIT NEHRU'S HISTORICAL VISIT

On the morning of November 11th Srinagar woke into new life. The whole city hummed with hilarity and activity on hearing the news about Pandit Nehru's arrival to Srinagar. People moved

about friskily, and the city resounded with the slogans of the National Home Guards, Peace Brigade Volunteers and the little children, who imitated them. Minute after minute people from all parts of the city poured into Red Square, where Pandit Nehru had to unfurl the flag. Men folks went out of their homes, women folk went up to the house tops to catch sight of the plane that would bring home the noblest son of Kashmir. They cast their searching looks over the Pir Panjal ranges, which had to be crossed by Panditji's aeroplane. Every second grew more momentous, millions of eyes were looking upwards and searching the far, spreading heavens, and cursing the duration of time that delayed the arrival of our Hero. It was really very interesting to see women, and young, girls, and men too shouting in ecstasy from their house tops. So felicituous was the time that people even forgot their breakfasts and morning meals also.

In the mosques prayers were held in his honour, and thanks were offered by the *mullas* and *Pirs* to God, Who had saved Kashmir. In the temples *Kirtan* and *Arti* were sung, and the folded hands and concentrated minds said with the inner depths of their hearts, "God give long life to our Jawahar and lend Thy glory and grace to him."

Kashmir itself—its mountains, rivers, birds—was eagerly welcoming her son back to home, for

it was a clear sunshine that day, not a fragment of cloud was there on the sky. The mountains had made themselves distinct, as if they too were very eager to see him. The birds, multitudes of these, were seen hovering over head, and it seemed that Kashmir had cast off her veil to see her darling son magnificently come to her folds again.

The Home Guards and the National Guards, as they pressed through the streets singing their common war notes.

وطن سے چلا ہے وطن کا سپاہی
بیچے نہ ہتھے گا یہ نیشنل سپاہی -

(The native soldier is marching forward. He shall not retreat, come what may), were received with good cheer everywhere. Flowers were showered over their heads, and the delicate hearts of their mothers and sisters, whose honour they had saved in the darkest hour of Kashmir's history, were giving them blessings in silence, and asking God to glow their careers with success.

On they marched with rejoicing and rhythm, and inspired the hearts of those who, being men all right, were only looking at them. At every crossing more batches joined them with the welcome note, 'Jawahari Kashmir Zindabad! Fakri Kashmir Zindabad'

جوا ہر کشمیر زندہ باد - فخر کشمیر زندہ باد

(Long live the Jewel of Kashmir, long live the Pride of Kashmir)

Another group consisting of about 600 strong Kashmiris came from below third Bridge, and crossed Habakadal. Their marching song was:—

آج ہمالیہ کی چوٹی سے پھر ہم نے للکارا ہے!
دور ہٹو اے پاکستانیو نہا کشمیر ہمارا ہے!
شروع ہوا ہے جنگ ہمارا - جاگ اُتے ہیں کشمیری
ہم نہ کسی کے آگے جھکینگے - قبائلی ہو یا افغانی

(To-day we have invoked the spirit of the invincible Himalayas. We challenge Pakistanees to go back because New Kashmir is our own land. The bugles of war have been rung, and Kashmiris have buckled themselves. We shall not be slaves to any man, may he be a Kabaili or an Afghani.)

This part of the National Militia was armed, and many of them had come from the front, wherethey had exhibited great acts of gallantry and won the admiration of the officers of the Indian Army.

The Srinagar citizens were stirring in all directions of the city. From the aerodrome to Red Square, the streets were occupied by National Home Guards, City Constables and Police officials in their gaudy uniforms to keep

the crowds in order. Hari Singh High Street had dressed its front in scarlet and crimson, and rich carpet-work of Kashmir was exhibited on shawls that made the welcome gates. The other side of Amirakadal was more splendidly clothed in cloth of gold and scarlet. All the windows on either side of the road were thronged with ladies crowding to see Jawahar pass. The autumnal sun of Kashmir shone more brightly and glowed everything with its sacred light. Since the daybreak the whole town was in a sweet fever of excitement.

Glorious as the spectacle was, it reminded men of a doleful tale of wrong, for the fresh memory of what Pakistan was doing pierced through the hearts like a yearning in pain. The eyes were impatiently watching for the object. Motor cars and military trucks were coming and going, but his car did not come! Then, all of a sudden crowds looked towards something which now drew nearer. There came a motor lorry having 'the Tri-colour' flag in front of it. At once the crowds, multitudes of men, became uncontrollable. They pushed each other, shouted to each other *Nicha Baithu* (Sit down). It then became difficult for the Guards to control them. From all directions people cried loud, 'Hindustan Zindabad', and saluted the Tri-colour with the solemn words of 'Jai Hind'. But in the bus

there was not the observed of all observers, but simply the Tri-colour in front of it. The Great Hero of this glittering homage was still at the aerodrome. The flag had only brought the message that splendour's plaything of the hour, the pride of Kashmir, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, had reached the aerodrome with Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, Communications Member, and his darling daughter Mrs. Indra Gandhi. They were received at the aerodrome by Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla and General Kulwant Singh, and introduced by Sheikh Mohammad Abdulla with the Emergency Officers and the Ministers of the State.

Gulam Mohi-ud-din was moving up and down in a jeep to keep the Guards in perfect discipline. He was giving them his directives regarding their positions. Instant after instant more Guards were pouring in. These were posted at different places lining the road through which Panditji had to pass.

At length the guests accompanied by Sheikh Abdulla drove to the 'Red Square' Amirakadal where, by now, tens of thousands of people had assembled from all directions to have Panditji's *Darshana*. Ahead was a jeep in which was Bakshi Gulam Mohammad raising the National slogans in exult and ecstacy. He was standing erect and waving his right arm with

great gusto to inspire the people. In an open space was seen approaching another car bearing two flags, one the Tri-colour, and the other the red flag of the National Conference. In it sat the two great Kashmiris—Jawahar and Abdulla—receiving the homage from the people and dispensing a warm smile to them. Both of them were very happy, brothers at last breathing the incense of unity, which they had won after great peril and huge sacrifices.

There Jawahar stood dressed in Gandhi clothes—most beautiful-loveliest—most favoured of Kashmir's sons, who had saved his own land from a wanton destruction.

Nehru—the sentinel of India—he has discovered India from the throes of revolution, and splitted ancient order and tradition into national earthquakes. He has consolidated the Union even when the opposing forces were set wrestling to and fro. He has become the one symbol of peoples struggle, and stopped people from falling victims to serfdom again. He has sent on open challenge to those who, though working behind the scenes, are fomenting Fascism in India; and he has left the devil to God's forgiveness. He looked more radiant to day, now that this time he had come to Kashmir as a free citizen of Free India.



WRECK AND RUIN OF BARAMULLA

"This Means Pakistan"

A guard of honour was presented to Panditji by the National Home Guards. Thereafter Panditji unfurled the National Conference flag amid echoing cheers and felicitations from all sides.

Movie Cameramen, newspaper correspondents, photographers from all over the world were crowding round Panditji. Crowds standing on both sides of the road had formed a huge congregation, but there was utter silence all around, since the ears were impatient to hear Panditji's words.

In a short address Sheikh Saheb welcomed Panditji, on behalf of the 40 lacs people of the State, and thanked him, the Government of India and its people for their sympathies and the succour sent for the rescue of Kashmir. Sheikh Saheb expressed the hope that Panditji would continue to help Kashmir as he had been doing ever since.

Panditji then stood up to reply the address. He was garlanded at the mike and cheered from all directions. First of all he expressed great satisfaction over the expulsion of the raiders from Baramulla, and paid tribute to the courage of Kashmiris, who refused to give way to panic.

Thereafter he reviewed, in detail, the situation with which Government of India were confronted and paid his tribute to the Members of the Cabinet, who had lost not a second to send succour

to Kashmir. He pointed out the complicacies that the situation had caused for India Government by the protestations of the Pakistan Government that they had no hand in the trouble. Congratulating the people of Kashmir on the communal peace they had maintained in the days of crisis, Pandit Nehru said:—

“The spectacle of communal amity in Kashmir, in most anxious circumstances has rejuvenated my bleeding heart.”

He told the crowds that the movement of events during the last fortnight had been so swift that Government of India had to take the decision of helping Kashmir in a great hurry, and the arrangement for despatching troops, who were scattered all over India, had to be made at a very short notice.

Above all, Panditji praised the courage displayed by the State Forces led by Brigadier Rajendra Singh, who held up the enemy away from Srinagar for a considerable long time. He assured the people of Kashmir that the Government of India would not rest until every inch of the State territory was cleared of the enemy.

Thereafter Panditji referred to Sheikh Sahab's expression of gratitude for the offers of help received by him from all parts of India,

and remarked that he too had received telegrams from Kashmiris all over the world requesting him to arrange for their transport to India so that they might be able to play their part in the defence of Kashmir concluding his address, Panditji gave a forthright assurance, on behalf of the Government of India, that immediate arrangements would be made for the supply of sugar, cloth and other necessities of life to the State.

In the end, to mark this memorable occasion, the Premier of India, extended his hand of friendship, on behalf of the Government and people of India, to *Sher-i-Kashmir*, which was warmly received by Sheikh Saheb amidst hearty cheers from the audience. Thus was Kashmir allied with India on a solemn day.

Later Sheikh Saheb asked the crowds to clear the road. In a moment the road was lined by crowding people, and Panditji and party drove to the Gupkar Palaces, where they had to have lunch with His Highness. In the way Panditji gently raised his right hand and greeted the crowds on his right and left.

In the afternoon, Pandit Nehru accompanied by Sheikh Abdulla and other leaders of the National Conference, proceeded to the State Secretariat, where he met the Emergency officers

and spoke to them,

In the evening, Panditji presented colours to the Home Guards, and addressed the Indian Troops at Rambag. This was followed by a dinner at the Guest House at which some high officials of the State and the Government of India were present.

On the morning of the 12th of November, Pandit Nehru accompanied by Sheikh Abdulla and Major General Kulwant Singh and others visited the wreck and ruin of Baramulla. Here Panditji addressed a huge gathering of the local population. Later in the day he flew to Jammu along with Sheikh Abdulla and his daughter Mrs. Indra Gandhi, his Secretary, Mr. Ayyangar and Dr. Batnagar. He was received at the aerodrome at Jammu by His Highness and a number of State officers.

Pandit Nehru then proceeded to the Sawtari House, where representatives of the Jammu public had assembled to meet him. Pandit Nehru addressed them for about a quarter of an hour, and assured them of India's full help and support in the defence of the State. The Head of Administration, Sheikh Abdulla, also addressed those present. He told them that Jammu and Kashmir was one State, and that he would do his best to serve both impartially to the satisfaction of all

concerned. After having his lunch with His Highness at Ramnagar Palaces, Pandit Nehru² left for New Delhi at about 2-30 P.M. by air, carrying the message of Victory to the whole Indian Nation.

And so having sighted 'Destruction, Devastation, and Death', bearing the wounds which still sore in their hearts, the evergreen wounds given by Pakistan, Jinnah, Abdul Quyum etc, who made the flourishing Happy Valley only a heap of smoking rubble, and left forty lacs of human beings in the clutches of destitute and want, thereby destroying the home of those very Musalmans for whose deliverance they pretended they were coming, the people of Jammu and Kashmir celebrated their V-Day, and alliance to India throughout the length and breadth of the State.

APPENDIX A

KASHMIR'S ACCESSION TO INDIA

MAHARAJA—MOUNTBATTEN CORRESPONDENCE

(His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur of Jammu and Kashmir State, in a letter to His Excellency the Governor General of India, announcing the accession of Jammu and Kashmir State to the Dominion of India stated:)

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I have to inform Your Excellency that a grave emergency has arisen in my State and request the immediate assistance of your Government.

As your Excellency is aware, the State of Jammu and Kashmir has not acceded to either the dominion of India or to Pakistan. Geographically my State is contiguous to both the dominions. It has vital economic and cultural links with both of them. Besides my State has a common boundary with Russia and China. In their external relations the dominions of India and Pakistan cannot ignore this fact.

I wanted to take time to decide to which dominion I should accede, or whether it is not in the best interests of both the dominions and

of my State to stand independent, of course with friendly and cordial relations with both.

I accordingly approached the dominions of India and Pakistan to enter into a standstill agreement with my State. The Pakistan Government accepted this arrangement. The dominion of India called further discussions with representatives of my Government. I could not arrange this in view of the developments indicated below. In fact the Pakistan Government, under the Standstill Agreement, are operating the Post and Telegraph system with the State.

Though we have got a Standstill Agreement with Pakistan Government, that Government permitted steady and increasing strangulation of supplies like sugar, salt and petrol to my State.

Afridi soldiers in plain clothes and desperados with modern weapons have been allowed to infiltrate into the State, at first in the Poonch area, then in Sialkot, and finally in mass in the area adjoining Hazara district on the Ramkote side. The result has been that the limited number of troops at the disposal of the State had to be dispersed and thus had to face the enemy at several points simultaneously so that it has become difficult to stop the wanton destruction of life and property and looting.

The Mohora power house, which supplies electric current to the whole of Srinagar, has been burnt. The number of women who have been kidnapped and raped makes my heart bleed. The wild forces thus let loose on the State are marching on with the aim of capturing Srinagar, the summer capital of my Government, as a first step to over-running the whole State.

The mass infiltration of the tribesmen, drawn from distant areas of the N.W.F.P., coming regularly in motor trucks and using the Mansehra-Muzzaffarabad road and fully armed with up-to-date weapons, cannot possibly be done without the knowledge of the provincial Government of N.W.F.P. and the Government of Pakistan. Inspite of the repeated appeals made by my Government, no attempt has been made to check these raiders or stop them from coming to my State. In fact both Pakistan Radio and the Press have reported these occurrences. Pakistan Government even put out a story that a provisional Government had been set up in Kashmir. The people of my State both Muslims and non-Muslims, generally have taken no part at all.

With the conditions obtaining at present in my State and the great emergency of the situation as it exists, I have no option but to ask for help from the Indian Dominion. Naturally they cannot send the help asked for by me

without my State acceding to the Dominion of India. I have, accordingly, decided to do so, and I attach the Instrument of Accession for acceptance by your Government. The other alternative is to leave my State and my people to free-booters. On this basis no civilized Government can exist or be maintained. This alternative I will never allow to happen so long as I am the Ruler of the State, and I have life to defend my country.

I may also inform Your Excellency's Government that it is my intention at once to set up an Interim Government and ask Sheikh Abdulla to carry the responsibilities in this emergency with my Prime Minister.

If my State has to be saved, immediate assistance must be available at Srinagar. Mr. Menon is fully aware of the gravity of the situation, and he will explain to you, if further explanation is needed.

In haste and with kindest regards,

Yours Sincerely

The Palace Jammu }
October 26th 1947. }

Hari Singh.

*In reply Lord Mountbatten wrote to His Highness The
Maharaja Bahadur of Jammu & Kdshmir State:-*

Government House,
New Delhi
October 27, 1947.

My dear Maharaja Saheb,

Your Highness' letter dated October 26, has been delivered to me by Mr. V.P. Menon. In the special circumstances mentioned by Your Highness, my Government have decided to accept the accession of Kashmir State to the Dominion of India. Consistently with their policy that, in the case of any state where the issue of accession has been the subject of dispute, the question of accession should be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people, it is my Governments wish that, as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir, and her soil cleared of the invader, the question of State's accession should be settled by a reference to the people. Meanwhile, in response to your Highness' appeal for military aid, action has been taken to-day to send troops of the Indian Army to Kashmir to help your own forces to defend your territory and to protect the lives, property, and honour of your people.

My Government and I note with satisfaction that your Highness has decided to invite Sheikh Abdulla to form an Interim Government to work with your Prime Minister.

With kind regards,

I remain,
Yours very Sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma.

APPENDIX B

JUDGE O' YE HUMAN BEINGS!

"THIS" MEANS PAKISTAN

During the last few years war-torn world has been witness to the dark depths to which treachery can sink in pursuit of conquest through aggression. But what happened to Kashmir, I dare say, adds altogether a new pattern to perfidy. Thousands of tribal Pathans equipped with mechanised weapons of war, swooped down on us not merely as armed bandits but as a centrally directed force with the avowed object of subjugating our land to the vassalage of *Pakistan* at the point of the gun. Unawares of such danger ahead of us, and without any warning from outside, we found that the invader had almost pierced through the heart of our country. They were perilously threatening Srinagar, the capital itself. Our people were literally stunned, not because they were afraid of losing their lives, but because they realized how serious a challenge it was to their will to be independent to decide their own destiny.

This grave realization ignited in the hearts of the proud freedom lovers of Kashmir flaming patriotism, which I am happy to say welded them into a granite will to resist aggression. The old administration had virtually collapsed and the people themselves, under the leadership of their organization, the *All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference*, took over the momentous task of regulating civic life, fighting the fifth column, and facing the enemy at the front.

At this most grim hour of our trial arrived the rescue forces of the Indian Union, for which every Kashmiri is grateful to their true friendliness in our most distressed hour. To-day the worst is over, the enemy is on the run, but the danger still remains. But I am confident not one of the insolent invaders will be left on our sacred soil in the near future. The invasion has left deep wounds on our hearts. Our beautiful land lies despoiled with hundreds of villages and thousands of maunds of precious paddy reduced to ashes. Prosperous Pattan is nothing more than a heap of smoking ruins, and beautiful Baramulla has been free looted by filthy hands.

They are criminals before history who exalted these invaders as the liberators of the people of Kashmir. They violated and abducted women. They massaced children. They looted everything and everyone. They even dishonoured the holy *Quran* and converted mosques into brothels, and

to-day every Kashmiri loathes the invading tribesmen and their arch inspirers, who have been responsible for such horrors in a land which is peopled with the overwhelming majority of Musalmans.

In the name of the people of Kashmir, I invite observers from all countries, especially Islamic countries to come and see for themselves what the invaders have done to destroy the home of those very Musalmans for whose deliverance they pretended that they were coming in the name of Islam, as 'Friends from Pakistan'.

Their loot-laden retreating bands have left destitution and want behind. Winter with all its severity is fast coming. The needs of our people for rehabilitation are most urgent. Our resources are limited. I appeal to all lovers of Kashmir all the world over, and the sons of Kashmir in whichever part of the world they may be to-day, to pool their best and contribute towards our relief and rebuilding. The donations may please be sent to me direct. They will be administered centrally and to all who are in need without sectarian preferences. The misery of the people, like their prosperity, is indivisible. We shall rebuild the heaven of Kashmir over again, and soon enough, with the good will and friendship of the friends of culture and civilization all over the world.

Sheikh Mohamad Abdulla
(*Voice of Kashmir*)

Secretariat, Srinagar
November 15, 1947.

APPENDIX C

ABDULLA'S CALL TO HIS PEOPLE

STAND AGAINST EXPLOITERS OF 'ISLAM'

My fellow people of Jammu and Kashmir,

For a long time you have been prey to poverty and heart breaking sufferings. For ages you have groaned under slavery, tightly shackled, only to die slowly from the tortures of hunger and pitiless want. You bore it in the ultimate hope that the dawn of deliverance will surely dispel darkness and distress from your benighted existence.

With that hope in front of us, I made the freedom of my people the first purpose of my life. It was a holy resolve which found an echo in many patriotic hearts, who are to-day by my side as most devoted colleagues, all sworn unto death to serve you and bring the happy gift of free and prosperous life. For years now we have faced bullets and bayonets. In that cause you have been with us as determined crusaders. Our martyrs, whom we salute, bear testimony to the purity of our purpose and the grandeur of our ideals as lovers of freedom.

Just as we were sighting our goal after a harrowing struggle, the wounds of which still sore in our hearts, we found ourselves faced with the most vexing problem of refugees from India and Pakistan. Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims began pouring into the State. They brought with them bitterness that was born of beastly experiences undergone. Not only this danger came from outside but the enemies of the people, the snakes of this soil, began to spout poison in the air and befoul the clean atmosphere around them as well.

Under these circumstances for the All Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, naturally the foremost task became the rescuing of our land from communal conflict and fratricide.

The ideals of 'New Kashmir', the land of our dreams, enjoins this upon us as the only true path to prosperity. With the energies and devotion of all our workers we were busy night and day to maintain goodwill among all people. Our peace was to be the harbinger of our freedom.

We were deep in the midst of this great and noble work, when the thunder of cannons and the bursting of death dealing shells announced to the peace-pursuing people of Kashmir that extinction had come to challenge our very right to exist as human beings.

We found ourselves invaded by ruthless hordes from Pakistan and Tribal Areas, efficiently commanded and amply equipped. The invaders struck us like lightening. They scorched our land, ruined our homes, orphaned the children, despoiled the honour of women, and devastated hundreds of villages. Busy towns like Muzafferabad, Uri and Baramulla and Pattan, the centres of our trade on the highway to the capital, are only heaps of smoking rubble, with nothing left but emptiness after shameless loot and marauding.

These invaders came to deliver us *in the name of Pakistan* as the true servants of Islam. And what heart rendering tales of death, devastation and destruction thousands of my fellow Muslim countrymen, you have to tell with pain of their devilish inhumanity? My heart goes out equally to my Sikh and Hindu countrymen, who have been the targets of sorrow at the foul hands of these beasts in human form. I stand one in sympathy with the suffering of the Convent Christians* who suffered death and violation from the invaders.

These lovers of Pakistan dishonoured even the Holy *Quran*, and desecrated our mosques as brothels to slake their animal last with abducted women.

*The Convent Christians of St. Josep College Baramulla were done to death by the invaders in the sack of the town. Pakistan desecrated Christ also

In the name of every Kashmiri, I ask the Pir of Manki Sharif to search his conscience as the Head of the Invaders. We have beaten back these traitors to Islam. Their punishment is the contempt with which their dead were strewn on the battlefield, food for vultures. *God-fearing Kashmiris are reluctant even to touch their bodies for a burial.*

As to the traitors to the country, the fifth columnists, people's justice will follow swift and stern.

With the grace of God Almighty, with the strength of your united patriotism in which all communities stood together, with the heroism of your Home Guards, with the friendliness of our true friends in need, the gallant armed forces of the Indian Union, we are beating back the enemy. Soon by the will of God we shall have no traces of their filthy footsteps left on our sacred soil.

To day the most pressing task before us is to make immediate provision for the needy and the homeless sufferers of the invasion, and to make urgent arrangements for food, shelter, clothing for men, women and children.

The old Government had collapsed under the stress of want. Transfer of Power came about under war conditions. It has brought onerous

responsibilities. By God's will and your devotion to the country, we will size up to the task.

In this hour of our country's need, I appeal to all those who have been granted the blessings of safety from the attack of the free looters to contribute their very best, mostly in food, clothes and money for the relief of those in want.

I ask this from every freedom-loving son and daughter of this land of ours, not as an act of charity, but as an act of dutiful thanksgiving to God, and a homage to the patriotic spirit of oneness of the people both in peril and prosperity, as soldiers of 'New Kashmir', and as sons and daughters of a great land on their march to proud and free existence.

Comradely Yours,
Sheikh Mohd. Abdulla.
(*Head of Administration*)

Secretariat Srinagar
November, 17, 1947.

[illegible]

AREA: 84,258 SQ. MILES
POPULATION: 38,46243
AVERAGE ABOVE } 5000 Ft.
SEA LEVEL }
KASHMIR VALLEY: 1600 SQ. MILES

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